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REPUBLICAN LITERATURE

**Issued by the Republican State Committee
of North Carolina**

1908



Republican Platform

1908

Adopted by the

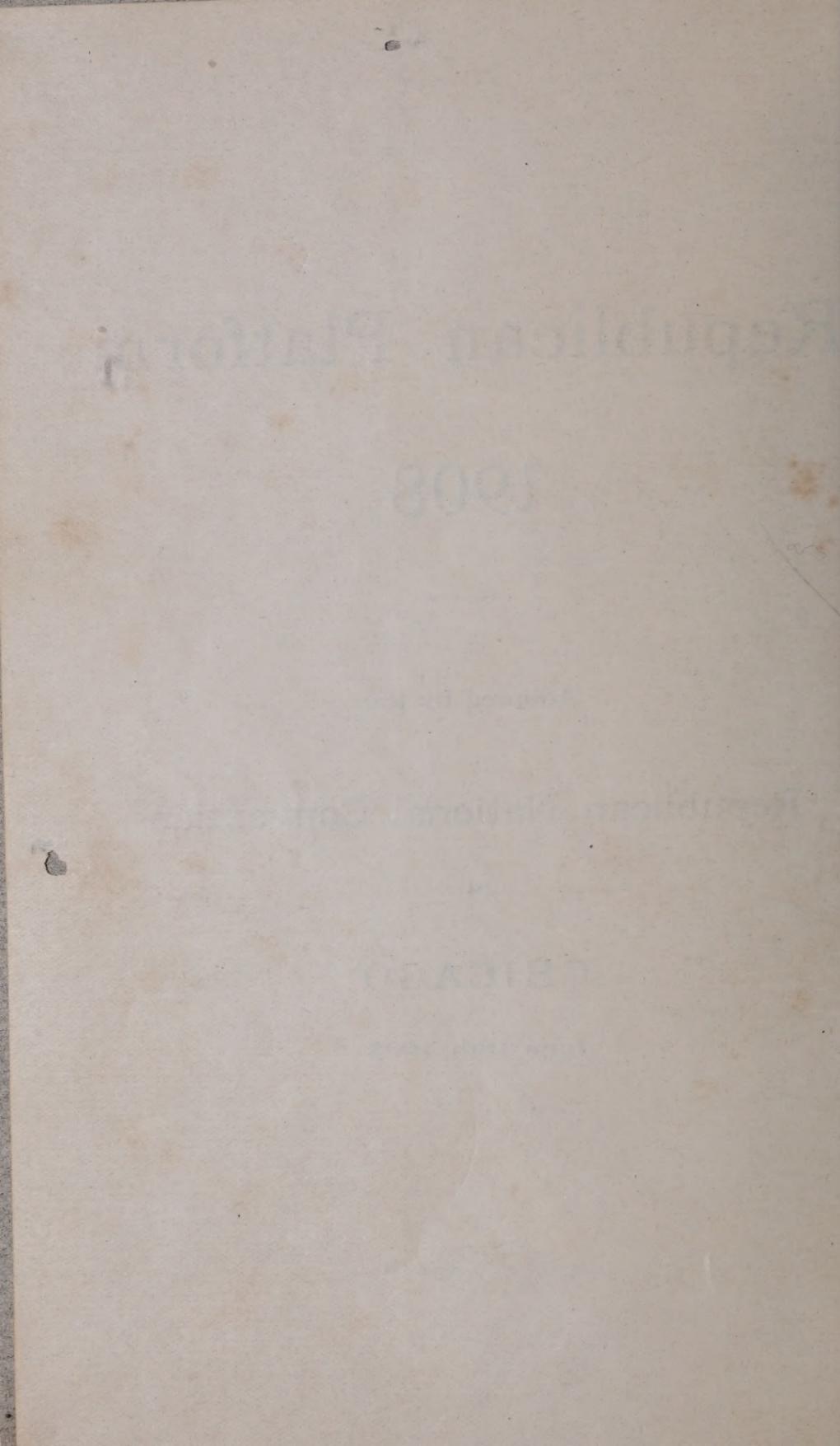
Republican National Convention

at

CHICAGO

June 18th, 1908





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Republican Platform—1908

Once more the Republican Party, in National Convention assembled, submits its cause to the people. This great historic organization, that destroyed slavery, preserved the Union, restored credit, expanded the national domain, established a sound financial system, developed the industries and resources of the country, and gave to the nation her seat of honor in the councils of the world, now meets the new problems of government with the same courage and capacity with which it solved the old.

Republicanism Under Roosevelt

In this greatest era of American advancement the Republican Party has reached its highest service under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt. His administration is an epoch in American history. In no other period since national sovereignty was won under Washington, or preserved under Lincoln, has there been such mighty progress in those ideals of government which make for justice, equality, and fair dealing among men. The highest aspirations of the American people have found a voice. Their most exalted servant represents the best aims and worthiest purposes of all his countrymen. American manhood has been lifted to a nobler sense of duty and obligation. Conscience and courage in public station and higher standards of right and wrong in private life have become cardinal principles of political faith; capital and labor have been brought into closer relations of confidence and interdependence; and the abuse of wealth, the tyranny of power, and all the evils of privilege and favoritism have been put to scorn by the simple, manly virtues of justice and fair play.

The great accomplishments of President Roosevelt have been, first and foremost, a brave and impartial enforcement of the law;

the prosecution of illegal trusts and monopolies; the exposure and punishment of evil-doers in the public service; the more effective regulation of the rates and service of the great transportation lines; the complete overthrow of preferences, rebates and discriminations; the arbitration of labor disputes; the amelioration of the condition of wage-workers everywhere; the conservation of the natural resources of the country; the forward step in the improvement of the inland waterways, and always the earnest support and defense of every wholesome safeguard which has made more secure the guarantees of life, liberty and property.

These are the achievements that will make Theodore Roosevelt his place in history, but more than all else the great things he has done will be an inspiration to those who have yet greater things to do. We declare our unfaltering adherence to the policies thus inaugurated, and pledge their continuance under a Republican administration of the Government.

Equality of Opportunity

Under the guidance of Republican principles the American people have become the richest nation in the world. Our wealth today exceeds that of England and all her colonies, and that of France and Germany combined. When the Republican Party was born the total wealth of the country was \$16,000,000,000. It has leaped to \$110,000,000,000 in a generation, while Great Britain has gathered but \$60,000,000,000 in five hundred years. The United States now owns one-fourth of the world's wealth and makes one-third of all modern manufactured products. In the great necessities of civilization such as coal, the motive power of all activity; iron, the chief basis of all industry; cotton, the staple foundation of all fabrics; wheat, corn and all the agricultural products that feed mankind, America's supremacy is undisputed. And yet her great natural wealth has been scarcely touched. We have a vast domain of three million square miles, literally bursting with latent treasure, still waiting the magic of capital and industry to be converted to the practical uses of mankind; a country rich in soil and climate, in the unharnessed energy of its rivers and in all the varied products of the field, the forest and the factory. With gratitude for God's bounty, with pride in the splendid productiveness

of the past and with confidence in the plenty and prosperity of the future, the Republican Party declares for the principle that in the development and enjoyment of wealth so great and blessings so benign there shall be equal opportunity for all.

The Revival of Business

Nothing so clearly demonstrates the sound basis upon which our commercial, industrial and agricultural interests are founded, and the necessity of promoting their continued welfare through the operation of Republican policies, as the recent safe passage of the American people through a financial disturbance which, if appearing in the midst of Democratic rule or the menace of it, might have equaled the familiar Democratic panics of the past. We congratulate the people upon this renewed evidence of American supremacy and hail with confidence the signs now manifest of a complete restoration of business prosperity in all lines of trade, commerce and manufacturing.

Recent Republican Legislation

Since the election of William McKinley in 1896 the people of this country have felt anew the wisdom of entrusting to the Republican Party through decisive majorities the control and direction of national legislation.

The many wise and progressive measures adopted at recent sessions of Congress have demonstrated the patriotic resolve of Republican leadership in the legislative department to keep step in the forward march toward better government.

Notwithstanding the indefensible filibustering of a Democratic minority in the House of Representatives during the last session, many wholesome and progressive laws were enacted, and we especially commend the passage of the emergency currency bill, the appointment of the national monetary commission, the employers' and Government liability laws, the measures for the greater efficiency of the Army and Navy, the widow's pension bill, the child labor law for the District of Columbia, the new statute for the safety of railroad engineers and firemen, and many other acts conserving the public welfare.

Republican Pledges for the Future

Tariff

The Republican Party declares unequivocally for the revision of the tariff by a special session of Congress immediately following the inauguration of the next President, and commends the steps already taken to this end in the work assigned to the appropriate committees of Congress which are now investigating the operation and effect of existing schedules. In all tariff legislation the true principle of protection is best maintained by the imposition of such duties as will equal the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, together with a reasonable profit to American industries. We favor the establishment of maximum and minimum rates to be administered by the President under limitations fixed in the law, the maximum to be available to meet discriminations by foreign countries against American goods entering their markets, and the minimum to represent the normal measure of protection at home, the aim and purpose of the Republican policy being not only to preserve, without excessive duties, that security against foreign competition to which American manufacturers, farmers and producers are entitled, but also to maintain the high standard of living of the wage-earners of this country, who are the most direct beneficiaries of the protective system. Between the United States and the Philippines we believe in a free interchange of products with such limitations as to sugar and tobacco as will afford adequate protection to domestic interests.

Currency

We approve the emergency measures adopted by the Government during the recent financial disturbance, and especially commend the passage by Congress at the last session of the law designed to protect the country from a repetition of such stringency. The Republican Party is committed to the development of a permanent currency system, responding to our great needs; and the appointment of the National Monetary Commission by the present Congress, which will impartially investigate all proposed methods, insures the early realization of this purpose. The present currency laws have fully justified their adoption, but an expanding commerce, a marvelous growth in wealth and population, multiplying

the centers of distribution, increasing the demand for the movement of crops in the West and South, and entailing periodic changes in monetary conditions, disclose the need of a more elastic and adaptable system. Such a system must meet the requirements of agriculturists, manufacturers, merchants and business men generally, must be automatic in operation, minimizing the fluctuations in interest rates, and, above all, must be in harmony with that Republican doctrine which insists that every dollar shall be based upon and as good as gold.

Postal Savings

We favor the establishment of a postal savings bank system for the convenience of the people and the encouragement of thrift.

Trusts

The Republican Party passed the Sherman Anti-Trust law over Democratic opposition, and enforced it after Democratic dereliction. It has been a wholesome instrument for good in the hands of a wise and fearless administration. But experience has shown that its effectiveness can be strengthened and its real objects better attained by such amendments as will give to the Federal Government greater supervision and control over, and secure greater publicity in, the management of that class of corporations engaged in interstate commerce having power and opportunity to effect monopolies.

Railroads

We approve the enactment of the railroad rate law and the vigorous enforcement by the present administration of the statutes against rebates and discriminations, as a result of which the advantages formerly possessed by the large shipper over the small shipper have substantially disappeared; and in this connection we commend the appropriation by the present Congress to enable the Interstate Commerce Commission to thoroughly investigate and give publicity to the accounts of interstate railroads. We believe, however, that the interstate commerce law should be further amended so as to give railroads the right to make and publish traffic agreements subject to the approval of the Commission, but maintaining always the principle of competition between naturally competing lines and

avoiding the common control of such lines by any means whatsoever. We favor such national legislation and supervision as will prevent the future overissue of stocks and bonds by interstate carriers.

Railroad and Government Employees

The enactment in constitutional form at the present session of Congress of the Employers' Liability law, the passage and enforcement of the safety appliance statutes, as well as the additional protection secured for engineers and firemen, the reduction in the hours of labor of trainmen and railroad telegraphers, the successful exercise of the powers of mediation and arbitration between interstate railroads and their employees, and the law making a beginning in the policy of compensation for injured employees of the Government, are among the most commendable accomplishments of the present administration. But there is further work in this direction yet to be done, and the Republican Party pledges its continued devotion to every cause that makes for safety and the betterment of conditions among those whose labor contributes so much to the progress and welfare of the country.

Wage Earners Generally

The same wise policy which has induced the Republican Party to maintain protection to American labor, to establish an eight-hour day in the construction of all public works, to increase the list of employees who shall have preferred claims for wages under the bankruptcy laws, to adopt a child labor statute for the District of Columbia, to direct an investigation into the condition of working women and children, and, later, of employees of telephone and telegraph companies engaged in interstate business to appropriate \$150,000 at the recent session of Congress in order to secure a thorough inquiry into the causes of catastrophes and loss of life in the mines and to amend and strengthen the law prohibiting the importation of contract labor, will be pursued in every legitimate direction within Federal authority to lighten the burdens and increase the opportunity for happiness and advancement of all who toil. The Republican Party recognizes the special needs of wage workers generally, for their well being means the well being of all. But more important than all other considerations is that of good citizenship, and we especially

stand for the needs of every American, whatever his occupation, in his capacity as a self-respecting citizen.

Court Procedure

The Republican Party will uphold at all times the authority and integrity of the courts, State and Federal, and will ever insist that their powers to enforce their process and to protect life, liberty and property shall be preserved inviolate. We believe, however, that the rules of procedure in the Federal Courts with respect to the issuance of the writ of injunction should be more accurately defined by statute, and that no injunction or temporary restraining order should be issued without notice, except where irreparable injury would result from delay, in which case a speedy hearing thereafter should be granted.

The American Farmer

Among those whose welfare is as vital to the welfare of the whole country as that of the wage earner is the American farmer. The prosperity of the country rests peculiarly upon the prosperity of agriculture. The Republican Party during the last twelve years has accomplished extraordinary work in bringing the resources of the National Government to the aid of the farmer, not only in advancing agriculture itself, but in increasing the conveniences of rural life. Free rural mail delivery has been established: it now reaches millions of our citizens, and we favor its extension until every community in the land receives the full benefits of the postal service. We recognize the social and economical advantages of good country roads, maintained more and more largely at public expense, and less and less at the expense of the abutting owner. In this work we commend the growing practice of State aid, and we approve the efforts of the National Agricultural Department by experiments and otherwise to make clear to the public the best methods of road construction.

Rights of the Negro

The Republican Party has been for more than fifty years the consistent friend of the American negro. It gave him freedom and citi-

zenship. It wrote into the organic law the declarations that proclaim his civil and political rights, and it believes to-day that his noteworthy progress in intelligence, industry and good citizenship has earned the respect and encouragement of the nation. We demand equal justice for all men, without regard to race or color; we declare once more, and without reservation, for the enforcement in letter and spirit of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, which were designed for the protection and advancement of the negro, and we condemn all devices that have for their real aim his disfranchisement for reasons of color alone as unfair, un-American and repugnant to the supreme law of the land.

Natural Resources and Waterways

We indorse the movement inaugurated by the administration for the conservation of natural resources; we approve all measures to prevent the waste of timber; we commend the work now going on for the reclamation of arid lands, and reaffirm the Republican policy of the free distribution of the available areas of the public domain to the landless settler. No obligation of the future is more insistent and none will result in greater blessings to posterity. In line with this splendid undertaking is the further duty, equally imperative, to enter upon a systematic improvement upon a large and comprehensive plan, just to all portions of the country, of the waterways, harbors, and great lakes, whose natural adaptability to the increasing traffic of the land is one of the greatest gifts of a benign Providence.

The Army and Navy

The Sixtieth Congress passed many commendable acts increasing the efficiency of the Army and Navy, making the militia of the States an integral part of the national establishment, authorizing joint maneuvers of army and militia, fortifying new naval bases and completing the construction of coaling stations, instituting a female nurse corps for naval hospitals and ships, and adding two new battleships, ten torpedo boat destroyers, three steam colliers, and eight submarines to the strength of the Navy. Although at peace with all the world, and secure in the consciousness that the American people do not desire and will not provoke a war with any other country, we nevertheless declare our unalterable devotion to a policy

that will keep this Republic ready at all times to defend her traditional doctrines, and assure her appropriate part in promoting permanent tranquillity among the nations.

Protection of American Citizens Abroad

We commend the vigorous efforts made by the Administration to protect American citizens in foreign lands, and pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and equal protection of all our citizens abroad. It is the unquestioned duty of the Government to procure for all our citizens, without distinction, the rights to travel and sojourn in friendly countries, and we declare ourselves in favor of all proper efforts tending to that end.

Extension of Foreign Commerce

Under the administration of the Republican Party the foreign commerce of the United States has experienced a remarkable growth until it has a present annual valuation of approximately three billions of dollars, and gives employment to a vast amount of labor and capital which would otherwise be idle. It has inaugurated, through the recent visit of the Secretary of State to South America and Mexico, a new era of Pan-American commerce and comity, which is bringing us into closer touch with our twenty sister American republics, having a common historical heritage, a Republican form of government, and offering us a limitless field of legitimate commercial expansion.

Arbitration and The Hague Treaties

The conspicuous contributions of American statesmanship to the great cause of international peace, so signally advanced in The Hague conferences, are an occasion for just pride and gratification. At the last session of the Senate of the United States, eleven Hague conventions were ratified, establishing the rights of neutrals, laws of war on land, restriction of submarine mines, limiting the use of force for the collection of contractual debts, governing the opening of hostilities, extending the application of Geneva principles, and, in many ways lessening the evils of war and promoting the peaceful settlement of international controversies. At the same session twelve arbitration conventions with great nations were confirmed,

and extradition, boundary and naturalization treaties of supreme importance were ratified. We indorse such achievements as the highest duty a people can perform and proclaim the obligation of further strengthening the bonds of friendship and good will with all nations of the world.

Merchant Marine

We adhere to the Republican doctrine of encouragement to American shipping and urge such legislation as will revive the merchant marine prestige of the country, so essential to national defense, the enlargement of foreign trade and the industrial prosperity of our own people.

Veterans of the Wars

Another Republican policy which must be ever maintained is that of generous provision for those who have fought the country's battles and for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen. We commend the increase in the widows' pensions made by the present Congress, and declare for a liberal administration of all pension laws, to the end that the people's gratitude may grow deeper as the memories of heroic sacrifice grow more sacred with the passing years.

Civil Service

We reaffirm our former declaration that the civil service laws, enacted, extended and enforced by the Republican Party, shall continue to be maintained and obeyed.

Public Health

We commend the efforts designed to secure greater efficiency in National public health agencies, and favor such legislation as will effect this purpose.

Bureau of Mines and Mining

In the interest of the great mineral industries of our country, we earnestly favor the establishment of a Bureau of Mines and Mining.

Cuba, Porto Rico, Philippines and Panama

The American Government, in Republican hands, has freed Cuba, giving peace and protection to Porto Rico and the Philippines under our flag, and begun the construction of the Panama Canal. The present conditions in Cuba vindicate the wisdom of maintaining between that Republic and this imperishable bonds of mutual interest, and the hope is now expressed that the Cuban people will soon again be ready to assume complete sovereignty over their land.

In Porto Rico the Government of the United States is meeting loyal and patriotic support; order and prosperity prevail, and the well being of the people is in every respect promoted and conserved.

We believe that the native inhabitants of Porto Rico should be at once collectively made citizens of the United States, and that all others properly qualified under existing laws residing in said island should have the privilege of becoming naturalized.

In the Philippines insurrection has been suppressed, law established and life and property made secure. Education and practical experience are there advancing the capacity of the people for government, and the policies of McKinley and Roosevelt are leading the inhabitants step by step to an ever-increasing measure of home rule.

Time has justified the selection of the Panama route for the great Isthmian Canal, and the events have shown the wisdom of securing authority over the zone through which it is to be built. The work is now progressing with a rapidity far beyond expectation, and already the realization of the hopes of centuries has come within the vision of the near future.

New Mexico and Arizona

We favor the immediate admission of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona as separate States in the Union.

Centenary of the Birth of Lincoln

February 12, 1909, will be the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, an immortal spirit whose fame has brightened with the receding years, and whose name stands among the first of those given to the world by the great Republic. We recommend that this centennial anniversary be celebrated throughout the confines of the nation by all the people thereof, and especially by the

public schools, as an exercise to stir the patriotism of the youth of the land.

Democratic Incapacity for Government

We call the attention of the American people to the fact that none of the great measures here advocated by the Republican Party could be enacted, and none of the steps forward here proposed could be taken, under a Democratic administration or under one in which party responsibility is divided. The continuance of present policies, therefore, absolutely requires the continuance in power of that party which believes in them and which possesses the capacity to put them into operation.

Fundamental Differences Between Democracy and Republicanism

Beyond all platform declarations there are fundamental differences between the Republican Party and its chief opponent which makes the one worthy and the other unworthy of public trust.

In history the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that the one stood for debased currency, the other for honest currency; the one for free silver, the other for sound money; the one for free trade, the other for protection; the one for the contraction of American influence, the other for its expansion; the one has been forced to abandon every position taken on the great issues before the people, the other has held and vindicated all.

In experience, the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that one means adversity, while the other means prosperity; one means low wages, the other means high; one means doubt and debt, the other means confidence and thrift.

In principle, the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that one stands for vacillation and timidity in government, the other for strength and purpose; one promises, the other performs; one finds fault, the other finds work.

The present tendencies of the two parties are even more marked by inherent differences. The trend of Democracy is toward socialism, while the Republican Party stands for a wise and regulated individualism. Socialism would destroy wealth. Republicanism would

prevent its abuse. Socialism would give to each an equal right to take; Republicanism would give to each an equal right to earn. Socialism would offer an equality of possession which would soon leave no one anything to possess; Republicanism would give equality of opportunity which would assure to each his share of a constantly increasing sum of possessions. In line with this tendency the Democratic party of to-day believes in government ownership, while the Republican Party believes in Government regulation. Ultimately Democracy would have the nation own the people, while Republicanism would have the people own the nation.

Upon this platform of principles **and purposes**, reaffirming our adherence to every Republican doctrine proclaimed since the birth of the party, we go before the country asking the support not only of those who have acted with us heretofore, but of all our fellow citizens who, regardless of past political differences, unite in the desire to maintain the policies, perpetuate the blessings and make secure the achievements of a greater America.

PLATFORM

of the Republican Party of North Carolina, Adopted in State Convention at Charlotte

August 26, 1908

"We, Republicans of North Carolina, in Convention assembled, commend the wisdom of the National Republican Convention, and congratulate the people of the United States on the nomination of William H. Taft for the Presidency of this great republic, and we endorse the principles and policies of the Republican Party as enunciated in its platform at Chicago, June 16th, 1908; and as carried out by the administration of Theo. Roosevelt.

"We appeal to the people of North Carolina to set the welfare of our state above party and above prejudice; to exercise their freedom to vote according to the dictates of conscience; and to choose those men for public office whom they deem best fitted to serve the public interest. We ask the people to consider whether they will best promote the welfare of the state by committing it's affairs to the radical faction now in control of the Democratic Party or by voting for the candidates and policies we offer.

"We ask all thoughtful North Carolinians to consider particularly whether the present Democratic Governor and Legislature have dealt wisely or justly with all classes of our citizens in the laws they have recently passed concerning railroads, and the violent measures they have taken to give these laws effect. We believe in regulating railroads and other public carriers strictly and carefully, and in compelling all corporations to obey the law as faithfully as the humblest private citizen. But we do not believe that Legislatures are competent to fix absolutely the precise rates at which passengers and freight shall be carried. We are sure that the Legislature of this state, which attempted to fix passenger rates absolutely, and neglected freight rates—much the more substantial grievance of our people—had neither the special knowledge nor the right spirit for such an undertaking.

"They disregarded the Constitution of the United States; and they threw thousands of North Carolinians out of employment.

"We denounce in unmeasured terms the unwarranted and uncalled for attack of the Democrats on capital, culminating in the fight on our railroads involving the state, as it did, in costly litigation; paralyzed business, drove millions of capital from the state, and sent railroad securities down to less than half their value.

"We pledge ourselves if the people entrust us with power, to set ourselves against two kinds of injustice: the injustice which permits wealthy corporations and individuals to prey upon the poor, and the injustice which sacrifices property and deranges business in order that cheap demagogues may get or keep office.

"We favor the policy of the state furnishing, free of charge and under proper regulations, to every child in the public schools all necessary text books; the further improvement and extension, at whatever cost, of the public school system, embodied in the constitution of North Carolina by the Republican Party. We favor the education of all our children up to the very limit of our available means.

"We favor also a liberal policy with our higher institutions of learning. The South needs highly trained men, and we would have the necessary training provided here, so far as we have the means, and put within the reach of our young men of talent and industry, to the end that North Carolinians may guide our people in the development of our resources in government, in business, in the beautifying of our towns, our cities, and our homes, and in the elevation of our daily life.

"This is true also of our institutions of charity, particularly the provision made for the blind, the deaf and the insane, for the efficiency with which any community ministers to such unfortunate human beings is a measure of its civilization. It is equally true of our Confederate veterans who have not the means of self-support; the state loves and honors them, and they must not be permitted to suffer want. We denounce the Democratic Party for not keeping its repeated pledges to provide our Confederate soldiers and their widows with suitable pensions commensurate with their services to the state, and we pledge ourselves to double the pensions now given by the state, to these classes.

"We demand a fair election law, which will permit an elector to cast a ballot privately, without interference or dictation.

"We favor, as we have ever favored, local self-government, and demand the right to elect by direct vote of the people all members of the County Boards of Education, County Superintendents of Public Instruction, County Commissioners and Tax Collectors, and Justices of the Peace.

"We favor an extension and improvement of the public roads of the state, and believe that the employment of the state's convicts on such work is the best use that can be made of criminals convicted of crimes; we further favor a law prohibiting the use of striped uniforms upon all persons convicted of misdemeanors in the courts of North Carolina.

"We favor the establishment of one or more reformatories for the correction of youthful criminals, convicted of minor offenses, and we favor a separate reformatory for females convicted of similar offenses.

"We pledge ourselves to a liberal appropriation for the care and support of our charitable institutions.

"We favor the exemption from taxation of two hundred dollars worth of personal property owned by each householder in the state of North Carolina.

"We believe in the dignity of labor and the elevation of the wage earner, and pledge our party to the enactment of such laws as will best promote this end; we believe that labor and capital are co-ordinate branches of our industrial life—each necessary to the other—that neither can prosper without the other, and looking to this end we pledge our party to the enactment of such laws as will, so far as possible, create the kindest feeling between labor and capital, remove all causes for conflict between the two, and promote the upbuilding of both classes.

"We favor restricting emigration rigidly, admitting none but the better class to our shores, and protecting American labor against foreign cheap labor.

"We believe the South should no longer hold itself politically separate and apart from the rest of the country. We believe the time has come when no interest or principle any longer demands such isolation. We ask the people of North Carolina to give us their suffrages, not merely because the Democratic Party, under its present leadership, both in the state and in the nation, is unfit for power; not merely because the candidates we here nominate, and the policies we recommend, are worthy of acceptance, but because every republican vote cast in the South is a vote for freedom, a vote for the right of our children to enter fully into the life of the great republic which our fathers labored and fought and suffered to establish."

MR. COX'S SPEECH

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:

I recognize it is a great honor to be Governor of the great State of North Carolina. I appreciate the fact that it is a great honor to be considered and to be nominated for this high office by a great convention like this, representing as it does one hundred thousand or more white Republicans, mostly native born, and as good men as ever trod shoeleather or belonged to any political party anywhere.

My friends, you well know I have not sought this honor, but have repeatedly said that I could not stand for it, or in any sense be considered a candidate. My business interests and the interests of others under my care, fully occupy my time and attention.

But when a man is drafted, as it were, by such a magnificent assemblage of representative North Carolinians, what can he do but accept.

I desire to emphasize one feature of this great convention, which has impressed me more perhaps than any other, and which appeals strongly to me, and which has had largely to do with my decision, and that is the presence of so many intelligent, stalwart young men, who have enlisted under the Republican standard. This emphatically means a brighter day for the Republican Party in North Carolina. I thank you, gentlemen, for this high honor. You must understand, however, that in my case this campaign will be a quiet one, conducted in a dignified manner. It will be on a high plane, and an appeal made to the reason and intelligence and not to the prejudices of our people. I shall later, in a more formal way, make known my views upon those issues in which our people are so vitally interested.

The National Democratic Platform adopted at Denver, July 9th, 1908, says: "We demand the immediate repeal of the tariff on pulp print paper, lumber, timber, logs, and that these articles be placed upon the free list."

This declaration carried into effect would, at one blow, destroy the growing lumber interests of North Carolina, east and west, by giving an open market to the vast forests of Canada and British Columbia, lying just on our borders.

Republican State Ticket

For Governor.—J. Elwood Cox, of Guilford.

For Lieutenant-Governor.—Charles French Toms, of Henderson.

For Secretary of State.—Dr. Cyrus Thompson, of Onslow.

For Auditor.—J. Q. A. Wood, of Pasquotank.

For Treasurer.—W. E. Grigg, of Lincoln.

For Superintendent of Public Instruction.—The Rev. J. M. Llyerly, of Rowan.

For Attorney-General.—Jake F. Newell, of Mecklenburg.

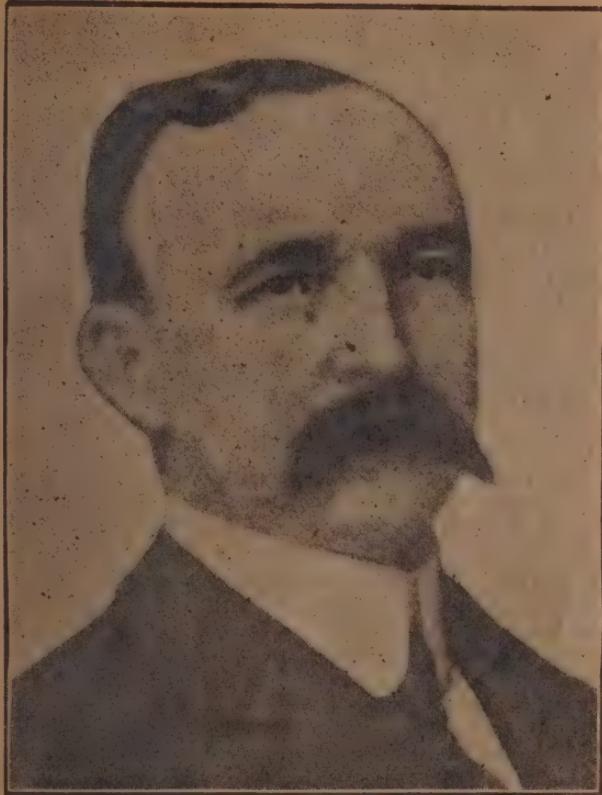
For Commissioner of Agriculture.—J. M. Mewborne, of Lenoir.

For Corporation Commissioner.—Harry G. Elmore.

For Insurance Commissioner.—J. B. Norris, of Wilkes.

For Commissioner of Labor and Printing.—C. M. Ray, of Mecklenburg.

For Electors at Large.—A. A. Whitener, of Catawba, and Thomas Settle of Buncombe.



Hon. J. Elwood Cox

Manufacturer

**Candidate For
Governor of North Carolina**

**His Nomination Made a Matter of Impartial
and Favorable Comment by Press
and People.**

TH E republican state convention when it met at Charlotte selected a ticket composed of representative citizens. The nominee for Governor, Hon. J. Elwood Cox, the High Point Manufacturer, when solicited by his many friends throughout the state to accept the nomination, refused at first to allow his name to go before the convention. Mr. Cox is essentially a business man and knows nothing of what is called "the game" of politics. He thanked his friends, but firmly refused them consideration of his name. Finally the demand from throughout the state became so insistent—democrats, manufacturers, business men, railway employees, all kinds of citizens, regardless of party affiliations, demanded that Mr. Cox accept the nomination, or, rather, stand for nomination, and feeling that it was as though his country called, and viewing it in the light of Patriotism, finally told his friends that they might present his name. That this pamphlet may not mislead the following telegraph story from the Convention Hall to a morning paper in North Carolina tells best what followed:

Charlotte, N. C., Aug. 27.—After naming a strong ticket and adopting the platform the state Republican convention closed its sessions this afternoon. The feature of the day was the unanimous nomination of J. Elwood Cox, of High Point, Guilford County, for Governor amid one of the wildest scenes of the convention.

When a motion was carried that the convention proceed to nominate candidates, James J. Britt, in a speech of ringing eloquence, placed the name of Cox before the convention. When he had concluded there was stretched across the hall in front of the platform a large banner bearing in the center in big letters the name "J. Elwood Cox." On one end were the words, "safe and conservative," and on the other, "Our Next Governor." The house went wild and a demonstration lasting fifteen minutes followed. Delegates sprang to their feet and shouted at the top of their voices, while they marched around through the hall waving flags, red, white and blue parasols, banners, umbrellas and hats. The demonstration was akin to that of last night, except it did not last so long.

The nomination of Cox came as a surprise to most of the delegates. It was stated last night by his friends that he had positively declined to permit his name being placed before the convention. A few men who are more concerned about the prosperity of the state than about the success of any political measures, induced Mr. Cox to agree to accept the nomination. Mr. Britt and ex-Congressman Linney, who were being urged for the nomination, agreed to support Cox. The friends of Dr. Cyrus Thompson held out until it was learned that Dr. Thompson would not be present. They all joined in for Cox and his nomination was unanimous, by acclamation with a rising vote.

The other places on the ticket are filled with able men who will make strong running mates for Mr. Cox, and add much to the party's chances in the state this year. Every section of the state is fairly and liberally represented on the ticket. The harmony and deep interest which have characterized the convention augur well for the party in the coming campaign. All who attended the convention unite in saying the ticket is one of the most attractive ever put out by a political organization in the state.

The platform, too, is a subject of considerable favorable comment. It covers all of the issues that should properly be covered by a state platform and the leaders, as well as that class generally known as the rank and file, concur that the party has taken a strong stand on most questions that confront the people of the state at this time.

It was indeed, a demonstration, such a one as would have made any man feel proud. It was not a "cut and dried" programme and an arrangement to "go wild" for so many minutes as was the case in the democratic convention. Mr. Cox was supposed to be out of the race. He was supposed to have finally determined the matter and the people were certain that either Thompson, Linney or Britt would be the nominee. So when it happened that Mr. Britt with a strong following in the west came to the paltform and placed Mr. Cox in nomination and that nomination was made unanimous—the cheers and demonstration were real, they were the expressions of hearts filled with patriotism—the hope of selecting in North Carolina a business man for Governor; a safe, conservative and splendidly equipped citizen proposing to accept in response to demands from men of all parties was a real reason why there should be exultations and rejoicings.

After being unanimously nominated Mr. Cox was sent for and came to the platform and instead of delivering a yard long oration of hot air and bombast, in a few well chosen, decisive business like words, just like the man, he retired amid another outburst of unrestrained applause.

The speech was as follows:

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:

"I recognize it is a great honor to be Governor of the great State of North Carolina. I appreciate the fact that it is a great honor to be considered and to be nominated for this high office by a great convention like this, representing as it does one hundred thousand or more white Republicans, mostly native born, and as good men as ever trod shoeleather or belonged to any political party anywhere.

"My friends, you well know I have not sought this honor, but have repeatedly said that I could not stand for it, or in any sense be considered a candidate. My business interests and the interests of others under my care, fully occupy my time and attention.

"But when a man is drafted, as it were, by such a magnificent assemblage of representative North Carolinians, what can he do but accept.

"I desire to emphasize one feature of this great convention, which has impressed me more perhaps than any other, and which appeals strongly to me, and which has had largely to do with my decision, and that is the presence of so many intelligent, stalwart young men, who have enlisted under the Republican standard. This emphatically means a brighter day for the Republican Party in North Carolina. I thank you gentlemen, for this high honor. You must understand, however, that in my case this campaign will be a quiet one, conducted in a dignified manner. It will be on a high plane and an appeal made to the reason and intelligence and not to the prejudices of our people. I shall later, in a more formal way, make known my views upon those issues in which our people are so vitally interested."

After the Convention was over, after Charlotte had been deserted by the republicans, Mr. Cox journeyed home the next day—arriving at High Point about the noon hour. Here was where a testimonial was offered that must disarm those who would villify; that at once appears as a letter of recommendation where Mr. Cox is not known; a testimonial to his moral worth and his splendid character that represented what gold could not purchase—what nothing but a life worthy and stainless could have evoked. That this pamphlet may not exaggerate the truth of history copied here is the report of a

demonstration of High Point citizens which tells a story that must have made Mr. Cox feel splendid pride in knowing that his neighbors regarded him so highly. The High Point Enterprise, a democratic paper, contained this story under the following heading set two columns wide: "Whistles and Humanity Shout a Cordial Welcome." "J. Elwood Cox, the republican nominee for Governor, Given a Big Demonstration by His Home People, Irrespective of Party Affiliation."

Not since the visit of President Roosevelt and Mr. William J. Bryan to High Point has there been such a demonstration as that given to our townsman, Mr. J. Elwood Cox, on his return to-day from the Republican State Convention, which named him as its nominee for Governor. The people of all political parties turned out to acknowledge an honor which had been bestowed on one of our fellow citizens. The crowd was a vast one variously estimated from 5,000 to 7,000 people.

Messrs. F. N. Tate and A. B. Horney, managers, had everything in readiness and when the train pulled in at 12 o'clock all of the whistles began to blow. The people rushed around the station while the High Point Band rendered patriotic airs.

Two large furniture wagons had been draped in the national colors in which were committees from the city and prominent visitors from nearby towns. Mr. Cox was ushered through the crowd and put aboard one of these wagons. The wagons were pulled down in front of Amos Furniture store on the public square where the exercises were held.

Mr. F. N. Tate, manager, introduced Mr. J. Ed. Kirkman, acting mayor, who welcomed the people of High Point in an appropriate and well timed speech. He congratulated the Republican party on nominating such a man as Mr. Cox as their standard bearer, saying that he was one of the noblest sons of the State. Mayor Kirkman in conclusion, introduced Mr. C. F. Tomlinson, who said:

"High Point is a remarkable city. For many years she has stood first in education, first in civic morality, first in manufacturing, first in local pride and progressive activity.

"It seems that there is only one thing our people have failed to demand for their very own, and that is high political preferment. Our modesty has made it necessary for representative people from the State at large to remind us that the time had come for us to furnish a candidate for Governor.

To-day the Governor is with us. Some overzealous friends may say let him ever remain in our midst, while others may insist that he go further East.

"This is not a matter for us to determine to-day. Our purpose as fellow citizens is to welcome the Governor to High Point, to give him the glad hand and apprise him of the fact that he is High Point's candidate, and that if the people choose him, his fellow citizens of High Point will have no fears as to the manner in which he will conduct the high office to which his party has called him.

"While it is not recorded that the principles of Quakerism specifically encourage a member to aspire to the position of commander in chief of the State militia, but when the call comes without seeking and from a great political party, there is no precedent to suggest that the call go unheeded.

"Again Mr. Cox, High Point welcomes you as an honorable and trusted citizen, who has always been identified with the progress of the city, and we now beg to inquire if you accept the nomination, along with our hearty congratulations and good wishes.

"Mr. Cox was greeted with loud cheers when he arose. He said:

"My friends, I heartily thank you for this appreciation of an honnor that has come unsought to me. This manifestation is non-political, of course, and I would not have it otherwise. Any honor that comes to me will be shared by High Point, and the people before whom I have gone in and out for more than 25 years. Our interests

here are so interwoven that what affects one affects all of us. I can't tell you how much I appreciate this demonstration and your friendship and confidence."

"Mr. W. P. Ragan was called on and made a vigorous speech, complimenting the town on such broadminded demonstration. He spoke of the demonstration given Mr. Cox at Charlotte.

Hon. Zeb Vance Walser, of Lexington, was called out and made a delightful speech praising High Point and eulogizing Mr. Cox. Mr. Walser is always gladly heard in High Point. Rev. W. H. Roach and Col. J. P. Leach also made short addresses.

"The crowd was good natured and listened attentively to the speakers imbibing the true spirit of the occasion as intended.

"There is no town in the South can do a thing better than High Point when it puts its shoulders to the wheel.

At the conclusion of the exercises the committee accompanied Mr. Cox to his home.

Committees:—J. Ed. Kirkman, acting as mayor; A. E. Tate, manufacturers' club; T. J. Gold, chamber of commerce; W. T. Kirkman, merchant; W. H. Ragan, school board; Dr. D. A. Stanton, physician; J. J. Farriss, press; W. H. Roach, labor; C. H. Sexton, labor.

Citizens Committee:—Dr. W. G. Bradshaw, Ed. Freeze, F. M. Pickett, George Montgomery, J. W. Harris, E. H. Farriss, J. W. Sechrist, A. J. Dodemead, J. J. Hayworth, D. S. Gurley, W. T. Parker, R. A. Wheeler, Ed. L. Ragan, D. L. Clark and W. P. Ragan.

Managers:—A. B. Horney and F. N. Tate.

The large crowd which greeted Mr. Cox to-day was one of the best natured ones we have ever known. Every one was in gay spirits. As Mr. Cox himself said in his speech, he understood that the welcome was a non-political one and would not have had it otherwise. It was all a royal welcome and one which was desired. It was an honor to our distinguished citizens and a credit to our city. High Point knows how to do the good thing. This occasion was no exception. The whole town came together to greet him without regard to party affiliations. It was a happy throng, one in keeping with the times and the public spirit of our citizens.

PRESS COMMENTS IRRESPECTIVE OF POLITICS

After the "smoke had cleared away" the press of North Carolina took notice. It did not expect that a business man would be chosen; it inferred that because the democratic party had ruthlessly cast aside a business man and an old soldier, a gentleman deserving and capable, and took a life long politician and office holder for its standard bearer, the republican party would commit the same folly.

But when it saw that Mr. Cox had been nominated and that he had accepted, there was, with but a few single exceptions, spontaneity on the part of the press, democratic, independent and republican voicing the one central idea that Elwood Cox was a strong candidate, a clean man, a good citizen and a safe and a conservative business man. It would be impossible in this pamphlet to attempt reproduction of all the many kind notices appearing after the convention and yet appearing, but in order to give an idea of what was said here are reprinted a few of those notices which please the friends of Mr. Cox and which disarm his political enemies.

The Charlotte Observer had this to say the day after the nomination for Governor:

"There is nothing to be said against the ticket that the republicans nominated in this town yesterday.

"Mr. J. Elwood Cox, their nominee for governor, a Quaker and a gentleman, is in all points of dignity and character the equal of any

man in the State. The Republican party of North Carolina is to be congratulated that it is able to put such a man at the head of its ticket. Personally he is as pure as pure can be, and politically he has never had a prompting that did not look to the welfare of North Carolina. An able and successful man, if he should chance to be elected, the interests of the State would be entirely safe in his hands.

"Mr. Cox's associates on the ticket are, like himself, worthy North Carolinians. We have arrived at that condition in our politics where no party dares to offer for office a candidate who can be successfully attacked. Without intending to vote for a man on their ticket, we still want to congratulate our Republican friends upon offering to the electorate so fine a lot of gentlemen *...*...*...*

"A word in conclusion. Charlotte was very much delighted to have these Republicans as guests. Candor and good manners impel us to say that the convention leaves upon the people of this town an exceedingly favorable impression. It was strong, both in numbers and in personnel; it looked and acted a part decidedly confusing to people who have long held, without thought of occasion for change, certain ideas about southern Republicanism. There can be no doubt that its equal has never before represented the Republican party of North Carolina. It is a matter of regret that stress of storm detained so many who would otherwise have come. It is hoped that those who were here enjoyed their coming, and it is hoped further that their impressions are so good that they will want to come again."

The next day the Observer again said:—

"The Observer desires to repeat what it said yesterday—that the personnel of this Republican convention was very fine that those people are good North Carolinians and have only the welfare of the State at heart. It may be going out of the way to say so, but we cannot help saying again that their candidate for Governor is as fine a man as we have—to repeat ourselves, a Quaker and a gentleman."

"A Quaker and a gentleman"—"as pure as pure can be"; "in all points of dignity and character the equal of any man in the State"—strong and convincing propositions those from a strong and honest democratic editor. But that is the history written and it is worthy of preservation.

The Charlotte Chronicle, also a democratic paper, had this to say concerning the ticket and Mr. Cox:

"The Republicans of North Carolina have put up a ticket that will interest the Democrats and that will call for the best fight that the Democracy can put up against it. This, by way of stating a plain fact. Mr. J. Elwood Cox, the nominee for Governor, is a manufacturer, an industrial promoter, a town builder, a Republican from principle, a prohibitionist in belief and practice, and above all, a gentleman. Nothing can be brought against his private or public record. His nomination insures the polling of the full Republican strength and it will catch the vote of an element in this State that has been wanting a chance of the sort. The ticket in its entirety is made up of good men. It is not too much to say that in all respects, it is the strongest ticket which the North Carolina Republicans have ever put up, an entirely decent one from top to bottom. The Chronicle cannot support it, but this fact does not bar us from stating what is a truth that will be recognized by all intelligent people. We do not believe the ticket, or any part of it, will be elected, but it is in the nature of a notice served on the Democratic party of the State to have a care for the future."

And this item of significance from the Chronicle, referring to Mr. Cox stands for:

"Democratic State Chairman Eller is quoted as saying, in regard to the Republican nomination for Governor, that 'from the stand-

point of Democracy we could not have hoped for nominations that pleased us more. The well-known sympathies of Mr. J. Elwood Cox, nominee for Governor, for the privileged interests classes him as a Republican in hearty accord with Mr. Taft,' etc. We are not certain what Mr. Eller means by the 'privileged interests,' Does he mean the cotton mills that have done such a great work in the development of North Carolina and that have brought so much prosperity to it? We hope not. If the cotton mills and other manufacturing establishments of the State are 'privileged interests' it should be the duty of the State to nourish them. At any rate, we hope the Democratic party has no intention of arousing a sentiment against them for political effect. It would be taking the wrong tact.

The High Point Enterprise, democratic, had this kind word of praise to offer:

"The non-partisan reception that is accorded J. Elwood Cox by the citizens of High Point, is a deserved tribute to a man who has been nominated by his party to the highest office in the gift of the State. The people of all party affiliations are glad to do him honor. While never having been a candidate for political honors before, it is conceded by all that Mr. Cox is a man well fitted by education, large natural endowments, and great success in the world of business for the high office. The Republican party has done itself honor in naming him as its standard bearer in what promises to be the most interesting campaign that has taken place in the old North State for many years.

"It is a sign of better times that partizanship is forgotten for the moment in honoring a fellow-citizen. This sort of thing occurred in Indianapolis a few weeks ago, when Mr. Fairbanks, a Republican Vice President, presided over a monster meeting in honor of Mr. Kern, the Democratic nominee for the Vice-Presidency. It is an era of good feeling, which can but rebound to the betterment of our State and country.

"It is conceded that Mr. Cox is an able man and successful. He has never soiled his career by any political meanness. His record is a pure one as a man of affairs and as a quiet, dignified counsellor of his party. Offensive partizanship is a stranger to him. He is a Republican from principle and has always been one from the time he reached manhood to the present. At the same time he has shown that large spirit which accords to every other man the same liberty and freedom of opinion as he demands himself. He has been all through his life closely associated with many men of different opinions than his own. They have always honored him for his ability, originality and pure moral character, and he has not hesitated to cherish them as his close and intimate friends."

The People's Paper, published at Charlotte, after copying the editorial from the Charlotte Observer commented in this wise:

"Just imagine, if you can, what a feeling would come over the average voter if he should wake on the morning of Nov. 4th and read that a high-toned, all around, up-to-date business man, one who does things, a man who would stay in the governor's office and attend to the state's business, had been elected governor do you think they could stand the shock?

"The other convention which met here some days since had an up-to-date business man before them asking for the governor's place, but they did not want that kind of a man, as was proved by their action."

The Union Republican of Winston had this to say which is a suggestion worth your thought:

"In the selection of Mr. Cox as a candidate for Governor the office most assuredly sought the man. His opponent, Mr. Kitchin, forsook his \$7,500 a year duties as Congressman and canvassed the State seeking his nomination for Governor in the hope of being elected

and from thence to step to Senatorial honors. Make a comparison and take your choice. Mr. Cox, an unassuming, successful, business man, personally and politically pure and if elected the interests of the state would be safe, sane and in worthy hands. Mr. Kitchin, a politician and an office holding and office seeking Democrat of the radical brand. Voter, which one do you prefer?"

Charity and Children, edited by Archibald Johnson, one of the ablest editors in the state, and democratic, always is big enough to make this kind reference to Mr. Cox:

"Mr. J. Elwood Cox, of High Point, has been nominated by the Republicans for Governor. Mr. Cox is a man of fine business ability and of unblemished character. He is not widely known, having never been in public life, but he is highly esteemed throughout this section, and he will not discredit, even in the fury of the campaign, the good name he has won."

Fairbrother's Everything, independent in all things says of the High Point candidate:

"The republican convention nominated for Governor of North Carolina, Mr. J. Elwood Cox, the High Point capitalist and manufacturer. This is something new in republican polities or democratic polities, for that matter, and the result of the election will be watched with great interest.

"It is not our belief that Mr. Cox can be elected—but it is our belief that he will materially reduce the democratic majority. There are, we believe, thousands of business men in North Carolina who have wearied of the democratic politician—and who will take great pleasure in voting against the policies advocated by the democratic nominee.

"Mr. Cox may look forward to being abused by democrats; he may count on being the subject of many campaign lies—but one thing certain he will receive many votes that no other republican would have received.

"The conditions in North Carolina are such that populism is not as popular as it once was and the republican platform rings clear on many things.

"Mr. Cox has accepted the nomination and there will now be a campaign on for fair. He will not stump the state; he will go along attending to his business—but he will always be found ready to explain his position and we venture the opinion that he will give the democrats much uneasiness."

The Industrial News, of Greensboro, says:

"It goes without saying that those who were instrumental in bringing about the nomination of Mr. Cox at Charlotte were influenced by a distinct purpose; that they had in view a well defined end. There was a widespread demand for the nomination of a man whose eminent safety and sanity was above question, and who would instantly command the confidence of those who come under the general classification of the "business interests." The whole ticket was named with this popular demand constantly uppermost in the minds of the delegates.

"In the country at large the claim has been made that there has been an appreciable breaking down of party lines during the recent years, and that it is becoming more and more a question of men, not measures, with voters of the north and west. This is possibly true, but the line of demarcation between the two parties has been drawn exceedingly clear in this state. Mr. Kitchin, the standard-bearer of the Democracy is the antithesis of the spirit which prevailed when the Republican candidate was named, and the ticket nominated. There is nothing in common between Mr. Kitchin and the business interests of the state, and there will never be anything in

common between them. Mr. Kitchin's habits of mind would not permit of such a thing. Moreover, should he ever be suspected of a leaning toward "conservatism" his sensitive soul would never survive the shock. He takes the greatest possible pride in the distinguishing circumstances that he is the state's most radical radical, not even excepting the man who now holds the office to which he aspires. If elected he would on the slightest provocation follow the frank, albeit destructive precedent established by his predecessor and utilize the state's business interests as a football for partisan politics.

"As we have before remarked, never before have the lines of demarcation between the two parties been more tautly drawn, and the business interests of the state should have no difficulty in discovering the way to a long sought salvation."

HUNDREDS OF OTHERS.

From hundreds of press clippings the following are reproduced to show the tone of the press of the state:

Winston Republican: "Politics or business? These are well defined issues in the State this year. Which do you prefer?"

Catawba County News, Democratic: "The republican ticket named last week at Charlotte is composed of men of character. We know personally Mr. J. Elwood Cox to be a man of high character and a great friend of public education."

The Caucasian: "The republican party stands for industrial development and for general progress and prosperity and Hon. J. Elwood Cox, himself one of the most potent leaders in the upbuilding and development of the State, is a fitting candidate for Governor to lead such a party to victory. The election of Mr. Cox would mean much to North Carolina's progress. Mr. Cox will appeal to the progressive people of the state as Judge Taft appeals to the progressive forces of the nation."

"A large number of delegates wanted Hon. Cyrus Thompson nominated for Governor, and he would have made a most brilliant campaign and an able and high-class Governor. But in the interest of harmony a compromise was affected by which he was unanimously nominated for Secretary of State. It is generally admitted, and not denied by any one, that when he held this position under fusion rule that he made the best Secretary of State that ever filled that important office. In short, the whole ticket is of a very high order. It can not be charged that Mr. Cox or any of his colleagues on the ticket have taken these nominations because they are candidates for a federal job. This alone will gain for them thousands of votes. It is a winning ticket and can be elected, and The Caucasian will do its part.

"Now, altogether for victory."

Haywood Enterprise:—"It is well to see what the other side think of us. The fact that the Democratic press of the State has praised Cox and condemned Kitchin is sufficient to erase all doubt in the mind of the voter. Read elsewhere what the Asheville Citizen said of Kitchin and what the Charlotte Observer said of Cox. Both of these are democratic papers."

Asheville Gazette News (Ind.):—"Mr. Cox, nominated for Governor, stands very high in esteem in his own community and the State, and the men on the ticket with him are good, able and worthy men—men holding such general repute."

Haywood Enterprise:—"Even the venomous Josephus Daniels admits that Hon. J. Elwood Cox gives the ticket a "veneering of respectability."

Salisbury Post (Democratic):—"A majority of the nominees (Republican) we know personally and that men of their stamp should

have been selected makes it fairly certain that the campaign is to be free of bitter personalities. For this much the whole State has cause to be thankful."

News Dispatch:—"Most all Democrats that we have heard speak about it say that they will vote for J. Elwood Cox for Governor. The people of North Carolina are tired of demagogues and want a real Governor, one that will stay in the executive office and attend to the affairs of the State and not run all over the United States shooting off their mouth. Yes, the people want an industrial Governor."

Charlotte Chronicle (Dem.):—"There is no "predatory wealth" in North Carolina, and the "privileged interests" are represented by the men who have built up the State and brought prosperity to it. The party that attempts to make political capital at their expense is going to lose by it in the long run."

Haywood Enterprise:—"Hon. J. Elwood Cox, has according to the democratic press, committed the crime of being a prosperous business man. He is certainly guilty of the charge so far as we can learn. He made his money in clean business and has done much to develop a great industry in North Carolina and bring Northern Capital to our State. He is not quoted as being as rich as William Jennings Bryan who made his half million or so out of the notoriety gained by running for president and who yet has his first dollar to invest in the furtherance of North Carolina's development.

From the Caucasian we quote a brief sketch of Mr. Cox which will be of interest to all:

"Hon. Jonathan Elwood Cox, the Republican nominee for Governor, was born in Northampton County on the first day of November, 1856, and since that time he has been continuously a resident of this State, and has played a prominent part in its commercial upbuilding.

"Mr. Cox is an untiring worker and his fine business qualifications has won for him a high place among the business men of North Carolina. Mr. Cox is of English descent. His ancestors, who came from England, settled in Perquimans County. His father lived in Northampton until Mr. Cox was about two years old when he moved his family to Guilford County, where he was superintendent of the Quaker school at New Garden, which was afterwards converted into Guilford College. Mr. Cox completed his collegiate course in 1875 and his commercial career was begun in 1876, as a traveling salesman.

"On the 23rd day of October, 1878, he was married to Miss Bertha E. Snow, the only daughter of Captain William H. Snow, who has been spoken of as 'the father and founder of the real High Point' where in the year 1880 he moved. Mr. Cox and Capt. Snow were afterwards associated in the manufacture of hardwood, at that time an industry practically unknown in North Carolina. To-day the business has grown until through its branch plants, it covers nearly every State in the South and its finished product reaches nearly every country in Europe.

"He was one of the men who helped to secure the railroad from Asheboro to High Point, and was one of the first directors of the Company. He was an active promoter in the establishment of the Commercial National Bank of High Point in 1891, and at the first meeting of the directors he was chosen president, which position he has occupied with ability ever since.

"Mr. Cox was one of the promoters of the Home Furniture Company, of High Point. He was a charter shareholder in the organization and creation of the Globe Furniture Company which makes the higher grades of furniture. His was the idea of the consolidation of the two into the Globe-Home Furniture Company, making it the

largest furniture plant in the South, with a capital of \$170,000. Since the consolidation of the company he has been its president. Mr. Cox is also a director of the Greensboro Loan & Trust Company, one of Greensboro's strongest financial institutions. He is president of the Southern Car Works of High Point, and other manufacturing companies in different towns.

"Aside from his activities in the business world he has always been a friend to education."

HOW THE COX BANNER WAS GOTTERN FOR THE DEMONSTRATION.

The following story in the Charlotte Chronicle, (democratic) throws a side light on the convention and gives the people the information of how the Cox banner was procured:

"One of the most interesting and attractively odd features--or queer freakisms of the State Republican convention, has not so far been recorded in printer's ink. When the Big Powers That Ever Be took a shivering sneak or a sneaky shivering because they knew not just exactly what was to be with regard to the nomination of some man of the G. O. P. faith who might or might not, fill the chair now held by His Excellency, Governor Robert B. Glenn, there was the actual activity of guessing at something that might be doing. A quickly made-up committee of three gentlemen, consisting of Mr. Anson T. Beaver, of High Point, Dave Conrad, of Lexington, and Marsh Hoover, of Thomasville, right away got their heads close-shoved to prepare a banner for J. Elwood Cox. They made a streaky trip to the place of a local sign painter and told him of their expectancy of trouble. In a fraction less than 25 minutes the sign was printed and the committee of three was again in place—for they simply ran like a distraught ostrich, dodging first to one side and then to the other in order that they might make a fancy run to place their banner in a fine and fitting position. They made the trip all to the absolute perfection. They whirled into the gallery where the big brass band was tooting and tooting and kept on a tooting. The J. Elwood Cox banner was swung and in a wee bit of time the thing called 'Victory' had perched there—that is, in so far as the nomination is concerned.

ABOUT THE PASS.

As a director of a railway, successful business men are often found in such positions. Mr. Cox has a pass on the Southern railway. Part of the democratic press which forgets all decency, and this year but few representatives of it, is attempting to discredit Mr. Cox on account of the pass. But at the same time Mr. Vanderford, of Rowan county, another successful gentleman and railway director, has been assigned manager of the campaign funds for the National Democratic party in North Carolina, and riding on a pass he is to-day passing the hat for dollars to assist Mr. Bryan in his election. It is perfectly proper for Mr. Vanderford to be a railway director and ride on a pass and raise democratic funds—but for Mr. Cox to be a director and ride on a pass, because he is a republican—constitutes a high crime and misdemeanor. The sensible citizen will understand that the pass makes no difference in the case of either gentlemen.

THE VILLIFIERS AT WORK.

Of course Mr. Cox did not expect to escape the villifiers who conduct the venomous democratic newspapers. He knew that some of the rabid ones would attempt to destroy even character itself, so he was not surprised when the first shot came—charging him with

being opposed to labor. He read what was charged, but before he could answer the charge his neighbors, manufacturers in High Point, all democrats, indignant that in the name of Democracy or anything else character should be destroyed and lies uttered wrote the following denial which is emphatic and final:

MR. COX NOT IN ORGANIZATION

"To the Public:

"We, the undersigned manufacturers, residing in High Point, and Democrats, but believing in fair play, desire to say that, of our own personal knowledge, Mr. J. Elwood Cox, of High Point, was not a member of the organization of manufacturers, who, in the Spring of 1906, had trouble with their labor, and we know Mr. Cox had nothing whatever to do with the socalled lockout, and the only times he appeared before this organization was as a mediator.

"The impression has prevailed somewhat that the Manufacturers' Club of High Point, had something to do with the lockout. This was not the case, the Manufacturers' Club had nothing to do with this trouble.

"Furthermore, we know Mr. Cox to be largely interested in manufacturing here and elsewhere, and that he has spent his life in encouraging same. And in every movement undertaken by the business men of High Point to secure equitable freight rates, better equipment for shipping our products, and better service in handling same, Mr. Cox has always taken a most active part and has rendered invaluable aid in bringing about more favorable conditions for shippers.

"J. P. Redding, H. W. Frazier, C. F. Tomlinson, S. L. Davis, Fred. N. Tate, O. E. Kearns, A. E. Tate, W. G. Bradshaw, Charles Ragan J. W. Harris, A. Sherrod, C. L. Wheeler, A. M. Rankin, O. N. Richardson. High Point, N. C., Sept. 5, 1908."

And it seems that should forever settle this campaign lie that was sprung in the hope of influencing labor against Mr. Cox.

Nor was that all. The fact that Mr. Cox was once before the Inter-State Commerce Commission has been made a subject of attack. His evidence there concerning freight rates was taken down by a stenographer, and Judge W. P. Bynum, Jr., who carefully examined that evidence wrote the following letter to the Industrial News showing where Mr. Cox stood in that regard and also his position on labor. Coming from a gentleman of the high legal standing of Judge Bynum, this article is worth reading as it gives the facts which must stand unchallenged. It follows:

"Editor Industrial News: The work of the recent convention of the Republican party at Charlotte seems to have been done so well and wisely that it has frightened certain Democratic editors and orators into gross misrepresentations concerning the head of our ticket. Mr. Cox has been caricatured by some of them as the enemy of labor and hostile to the interests of the manufacturers and merchants of the state. He has been represented as one who believes in allowing the railroads to charge such freight rates as they please without any kind of regulation or control on the part of the national government. Even the Democratic candidate for governor, if he is correctly reported by the newspapers of his party, in his speech at Dobson a few days ago, declared that Mr. Cox was one of the only two men in North Carolina who went before the interstate commerce commission and said under oath that the freight rates of the railroads ought not to be regulated by law.

"Now a candidate for governor should not only be intelligent, as the Democratic candidate undoubtedly is, but he should also be fair, just and accurate in his statements. If he is careless or reckless in

his assertions, it is a pretty good sign that he may prove to be equally careless as to his official actions in case of his election. He was a member of Congress when Mr. Cox testified before the Senate committee of inter-state commerce. That was May 10, 1905. Mr. Cox not only did not say on that occasion that the freight rates of the railroads ought not to be regulated by law, but expressly declared that there was no objection to such a course. I have read every word of his testimony before the committee and there is nothing in it to justify the assertion that Mr. Cox was then or is now opposed to federal regulation of railway rates. When he went before the committee, as appears from his testimony he in common with many others, was under the impression that the committee intended to recommend a measure giving the inter-state commerce commission power to fix the rates in the first instance. Mr. Cox thought that was inadvisable; that it would be better to allow the railroads themselves to fix the rates in the first instance, because among other reasons, if the commission should fix them too high it would be difficult to get the railroads to make them lower, and besides, he preferred to deal directly with the railroads in securing a satisfactory rate than with a government official. When Senator Cullom, a member of the committee, called his attention to the fact that it was not proposed to pass a law requiring the commission to fix the rates in the first instance, but simply to give the commission power, upon complaint made, to determine what a reasonable rate was and if a rate was determined to be unreasonable, that the commission should have the power to say what was a reasonable rate, Mr. Cox readily agreed that there could be no objection to such a law. As a matter of fact, subject to the power of the courts to review the finding of the commission, such a provision was incorporated in the bill passed by the Senate and every Democratic senator except two voted for it.

"In answer to further questions Mr. Cox did testify that in the locality where he lived there was very little complaint of the rates being too high. And that was true and is true now. The complaint of the people of North Carolina is not so much that freight rates are too high, but that they are discriminatory. To lower them here and likewise reduce existing rates in the proportion in Virginia and Georgia would help us very little. What we need in this respect are rates which will put us upon an equal footing with those states. Mr. Cox was not questioned and did not testify as to that aspect of the matter. It may be stated, however, that Mr. Cox is as much opposed to rebates and discriminations in freight rates as any one. In his business he has never received a rebate nor have there been any discriminations in his favor. He rides on a pass because he is a director in the High Point and Randleman Railroad and is one of the persons who was instrumental in having that railroad built. He was its first president and was elected by his friends and neighbors, and after the road was sold to the Richmond and Danville company, Mr. Cox being its president, was retained as a director in the company and as such he has had a pass ever since as have also all the other directors and officers of the road, Democrats as well as Republicans.

"Again, Mr. Cox is represented as an enemy of labor. This charge is based upon his alleged participations in certain labor troubles in High Point a few years ago in which, it is claimed, his action was unfriendly to organized labor. As a matter of fact Mr. Cox had nothing to do with those troubles, and took no stand whatever in any way hostile to labor, organized or unorganized. He is interested in six factories in High Point which went through the trouble without the slightest friction. One of these he owns and it was under his absolute control. In it there were employes who belonged to the union and employes who did not belong to it, and Mr. Cox never even inquired whether his employes were members of the union or not. There was only one factory in High Point

in which Mr. Cox was interested where there was any trouble. Mr. Cox was not even a member of the Manufacturers' Association which locked out the men and controlled the situation, and he had nothing whatever to do with the action of the association resulting in the lockout.

"These are the facts, Mr. Editor, and I mention them not with the hope of accomplishing anything so far as the gentlemen are concerned who have made the misrepresentations. Perhaps they have no use for facts, they can reason better without them; but the fair-minded voters of the state are interested in knowing the truth and it is to them that the Republican party appeals to contrast what Mr. Cox has done for his community and the state with what his opponent has done, or rather failed to do, and to decide which of them is most worthy to be governor of this great state."

"For several years we have heard from business men themselves—farmers, merchants, manufacturers, and others—that they do not take an interest in politics sufficiently active and effective to protect and promote their own interests. In the candidacy of Mr. Cox they have an excellent opportunity to place in the governor's chair one of their most honest, capable and conservative men, in whose hands not only their own, but the interests of every other person, rich or poor, corporate or individual, will be safe."

LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS.

Mr. Cox has been the recipient of hundreds of personal letters and telegrams, letters from democrats prominent in the state pledging their support; letters from manufacturers regardless of political affiliations telling him they would work to the last day for his success and from all over the state and outside the state hundreds of letters have come which make Mr. Cox feel that the spotless life he has lived has been rewarded.

LETTERS IN THE PRESS.

The papers which will print letters are carrying many from writers who are for Mr. Cox and as they are numerous we reproduce a couple here as a sample of what men are writing: Mr. T. Hicks, of Henderson says in the Industrial News:

"It is somewhat to the credit of the State of North Carolina that so many of the intelligent Democrats of the state did not want either Kitchin or Craig for governor, but preferred a plain business man who had won the right to govern others by governing himself and prospering in his own affairs. The Ashley Horne vote of the Democratic party was its better part. It really seems that the Democratic party of North Carolina even, is beginning to share the feeling that the rule of the politician, the agitator, the stirrer up of strife is not best. Beginning, I say; for it has not yet attained to that feeling; for it still recognizes the "old taste for gross" implied by the boost of its candidate, Mr. Kitchin, that the "big 4" of North Carolina is the Halifax registrars.

"The Republican party offers the people a candidate, who, instead of going the round talking education and industrialism and winding up with denouncing corporations and railroads and bringing us to "1908" with less than half the children in school, has devoted his life itself to education and industry, who has labored in season and out of season for the promotion of the school and college of his own hands and provided labor for the hands of others—who does, instead of talks. No reason can be found for not voting for Elwood Cox for governor except that he is a Republican. Thirty-four of our forty-six states are Republican by two and a half millions majority. Some would-be Democratic postmasters think they can feel a landslide for Bryan and Kitchin. To my apprehension based on results already accomplished, it is already here for Taft

and Cox. Every Republican should appeal to his neighbors to vote for this most excellent ticket and against Bryan and Kitchin. Those names don't sound right to me. They look like a hundred-dollar bill of Confederate money. Bryan's picture reminds one of those grey horses pulling the cannon, and rearing up—while Kitchin makes me think of the man riding the horse and driving—Josephus represents the man who signs down on the left hand corner of the bill, not treasurer, but "For treasurer," and the whole Democratic outfit seems to say, like that old bill, "We'll make good two years after the notification of a treaty of peace between us and the United States." Bryan, Kern and Kitchin don't come due soon enough—we want something fresh and new and in the living present. Here's the style of it: Taft, Sherman and Cox. Hurrah for them.

"August 29, 1908.

T. T. HICKS."

"Editor Daily Industrial News:—The Charlotte News has seen fit to cartoon Mr. J. Elwood Cox as the man who was the one that kicked the working men out in the 'lockout' there. I do not write to say that he had no part in it, but it is a fact that the shuttle block factory did not lock out a man, although some factories in which he was interested did do so. Who locked out the union men here? Almost to a man they were Democrats. In one instance men armed with pistols sat in the office of a factory waiting for an attack by violent union men, and this factory was run by Democrats.

Now, by lineage and descent, I am a Democrat but shall vote for J. Elwood Cox for governor. I am not a union man, but believe in fair play. Now these same good Democrats in High Point who locked out the working men want office and will ask for the support of their 'dear' laborers. We should like for the Charlotte News and other Democratic papers to tell how many working men the Democrats locked out in High Point. This would make interesting reading when compared with what Republicans did.

"High Point, N. C. Sep. 4, 1908.

CITIZEN."

IN CONCLUSION.

Never in the State of North Carolina was there such an ovation over the nomination of a republican to head the state ticket. Never was there such an outpouring of letters and telegrams from men of all parties; never was the democratic press as kind and considerate of a candidate and never before, in a straight fight between democrat and republican was there such a splendid chance for republican success. That thousands of democrats will vote for Mr. Cox simply because he stands for the business interests goes without saying. He represents what the business interests demand, and the democrat who votes for him can remember what Editor Caldwell, of the Charlotte Observer said, when found repeating himself—"he is a Quaker and a Gentleman."

A Suggestion

The following from Fairbrother's Everything, (Independent), sizes up the situation pretty well, and is offered to those democrats who want to see business conditions settled in North Carolina, who want to see a Governor who will build up the state's commercial interests and not his own political fortunes, at the expense of the state:

"It is up to the Democrats who have been talking, to shoot or give up the gun. A year and more ago the conservative Democrats of North Carolina wanted to start a new party—they wanted to

run a business man for governor; they wanted to cut loose from the politicians who have so long dominated and who have preempted offices.

"The time has come, now, when these socalled independent Democrats, those manufacturers and business men who claimed they were tired of politics and wanted business introduced into state affairs, can express themselves. J. Elwood Cox is preeminently a business man. He is a clean citizen; a safe citizen; a good citizen—and as Joe Caldwell frequently remarks, 'that word citizen is a good one.'

"If the business interests of the state want to see a change; if they want to have for governor a man who is business from the shoulder and who would devote his time exclusively to giving the state a business administration, they can vote for Cox and vote for him consistently. He stands diametrically opposed to all that Kitchin advocates—so far as we have heard Kitchin on the stump. Cox wants to build up his state. He wants to encourage foreign capital; he wants railroads to have a chance to run and equip their rolling stock with the latest and best; he wants to see development and he would favor giving the railways a subsidy for getting mail to us many hours in advance. He carries a railroad pass as a director of a railway, and if he can manage to buy a railroad and own it, he will get still more votes. The wave of anarchy which swept the state against railroads has about subsided. What we want in office are men who favor progression; business men who will build and not tear down. Cox will never appeal to the passions and prejudices of men. He will or should appeal to all business men; to all men who want to own homes and all men who own homes—he should receive every railroad man's vote; he should get the lion's share of the business vote and the farmer who does not want to see the railways and trusts absolutely wiped out of this state will vote for Cox—the clean-handed business man.

"It is now up to those who talked to organize. There is no excuse for blushing or apologizing if you vote for Elwood Cox. He is as good a citizen as there is in the confines of North Carolina—and he stands for all the things, practically, that Kitchin opposes in the industrial life of the state.

"Dozens of Democrats in Greensboro have already informed us, or rather stated in our presence, that they would vote for Cox—and we are now of opinion that Cox and Bryan or Bryan and Cox will be a ticket quite liberally voted throughout the state. Anyway, it is now up to those Democrats who have claimed to be dissatisfied to either shoot or give up the gun."

Mr. Cox's Formal Statement on Issues

Republican Nominee for Governor Addresses the People of the State—National and State Affairs Discussed—His Position With Reference to Labor and Capital Clearly Outlined—Is Opposed to Rebates and Has Never Received One From a Railroad—Education the Most Important Question Now Fronting Us—Earnest Appeal Made to the Young Men of the State to Study Well What the Republican Party Has Done.

To the People of North Carolina:

It will be recalled that when I accepted the nomination for Governor at the recent Republican State Convention in Charlotte, I stated that later I should, in a more formal way, make known my views upon the issues between the two great political parties of North Carolina. I now make the attempt and hope every man who reads this will do so as if it were a personal communication to him.

My life's work has been outside of politics. I have never for a moment entertained any political ambitions. It was with great reluctance I yielded to the earnest entreaties of friends, who persuaded me that I owed a duty to the State, and many of these friends are Democrats who feel as I feel—that the business men of North Carolina are entitled to more voice in the business affairs of the State, and in the legislation affecting the business interests of the State.

Being a business man and not a politician I take it that it is not expected I should enter into any elaborate discussion of the political issues of the day.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

As to national affairs, I desire first to say that I am in thorough accord with the principles and policies of the party as enunciated in the Republican national platform adopted at Chicago, and firmly believe if North Carolina would break away from the solid South and cast her electoral vote for that great statesman, William H. Taft, it would bring millions of dollars here to aid in developing our untold resources. Business men know that dollars, like people, need encouragement; they will go where there is an inducement, but they are not likely to stay where there is indifference; they will live where they see light ahead for profit. But if the sentiment of a community, or State, is hostile to them, such community, or State, is not likely to grow rich.

In view of the untold resources of this Commonwealth, about which we hear and read so much, I may say there never was a more propitious opportunity for the adoption of a policy which will induce, attract and encourage the investment of outside capital in our State.

There are certain matters to which I desire to refer: first, that of labor.

LABOR

I trust I may be pardoned for stating that whatever I have accumulated of this world's goods has been the fruit of my own effort. The work of my life and the environments of the field of activity in which I have wrought, with

some measure of success, have been such as to make it impossible for me to be in any way unfriendly to labor. The most loyal friends and supporters I have are men who have been in my employ for ten or twenty years and I am willing that the testimony of these men, irrespective of political or other affiliations, shall be accepted as to my attitude on this question. I may state further that I have never discriminated against any laboring man on account of his connection with any organization, and in the course of my business life of more than twenty-five years, devoted to the upbuilding of the industrial and manufacturing interests of the community in which I live, and while employing a great many men, never have I had any trouble of any kind, at any time, with my employees.

CAPITAL

I must be equally frank and emphatic in stating that my attitude towards capital is that of justice and fairness.

I am in favor of dealing wisely and justly with all classes of our citizens in the enactment and enforcement of laws affecting their interests.

I believe also in the proper and just and strict regulation of all railroads and other public carriers, and in requiring all corporations to obey the laws as strictly and faithfully as the humblest private citizen.

I favor such laws as will "give to the Federal government greater supervision and control over, and secure greater publicity in, the management of that class of corporations engaged in interstate commerce having power and opportunities to effect monopolies."

And in this connection I beg to state emphatically that I have not a dollar invested in any sort of combine or trust, or in any line of business that any man can fairly claim even saviors of a trust.

It is not improper, since I have been so misquoted and misrepresented as to my attitude towards railroads, to state that in 1889 the people of my community, seeing the great necessity for building a railroad south of us, to bring out the large quantity of lumber in that direction, organized the High Point, Randleman, Asheboro & Southern Railroad Company, and at a meeting of the stockholders—composed of my neighbors and friends—I was elected president and a director of the company and devoted much time and labor and some money towards the completion of this road. Soon after the completion of this road it was sold to the old Richmond & Danville, and I have since retained the place as director in this local company, and by reason of holding this place as director have lawfully carried an annual pass ever since. This annual pass came to me legitimately and I have never seen any sufficient reason why I should refuse it.

Outside of the investment in this local road I have no financial interest direct or indirect in any other railroad. It is due me that I should state positively that I have never asked for or received a rebate from any railroad company.

I am strongly opposed to rebates or any sort of discrimination, and, speaking for myself, have never been able to understand why the railroads should give Virginia cities better rates than they give North Carolina cities.

This question should receive the continued and urgent attention of our people until it is corrected.

While railroads should be required to make reasonable schedules and give reasonable accommodations, we should not overlook the enormous expense of their operation and their great losses by accident and otherwise. We should deal firmly and fairly with them and at the same time not forget that they

are the greatest factors in our industrial life and should be encouraged to extend every reasonable convenience to the people.

I favor the fullest protection to the railroad employe and the highest compensation commensurate with the risk he assumes and the services he renders.

Since my position upon the question of freight rates has been misrepresented, and my testimony before the Interstate Commerce Commission at Washington in the spring of 1905 has been so wilfully garbled and distorted, I am giving to the public, in a separate document, my complete testimony before this commission; having no desire to conceal any opinion or any statement upon this, or any other question.

AS TO STATE MATTERS

I heartily favor a liberal policy towards our higher institutions of learning, and ample provision for the needs of our charitable institutions, including generous provision for our Confederate veterans.

No higher or greater obligation rests upon us than that which we owe to the youthful criminals of our State. Humanity demands that we should provide reformatories for their correction and training.

I favor a fair election law and believe that every elector should be protected in his right to cast a ballot privately and without any sort of interference or dictation, and that the people should have a voice in the selection of all of their public servants.

One of the most important and pressing questions which now vitally concerns our people is that of improvement of our public roads and demands our best thought and most earnest attention.

There is no more important question confronting us than that of education of all our children and I am willing to go to the length of subscribing to the policy that the State shall furnish, free of charge and under proper regulations, to every child in our public schools all necessary text-books, which policy has already been adopted by many of the most progressive States of the Union. I firmly believe that the great cause of education should be eliminated from the field of politics, and that the time will soon come when the people of North Carolina will demand it to be taken and kept out of politics.

Let me observe that political and economic conditions change by periods. This State has reached a period when economic conditions require change in the political government. We long ago passed the convalescent period in recovering from the downfall of slavery and the disaster of the civil war. In the movement to get away from these old things North Carolina is leading all the Southern States. The fact that there is here a wholesome and forceful Republican party is evidence of the fact that we are further away from old conditions and nearer abreast with modern conditions than any other State in the South.

In spite of hostile legislation which has materially retarded her progress, North Carolina—which was at one time the third State in the Union in population and wealth—can soon again resume her relatively high position amongst her sister States, both in material prosperity and political importance.

REPUBLICANS AND PROSPERITY

The Republican party is more in sympathy with the essential elements of modern prosperity than the Democratic party. It stands for those things and those policies which more largely favor the growth and expansion of our material interest.

I cannot emphasize the fact too strongly that neither our State nor the

South has had the influence in national affairs that they once had. In order to exercise again a rightful influence in the nation we must occupy ourselves with economic questions rather than political questions and in struggle for office. When the people of North Carolina once see the wisdom of giving equal support to two political parties, so that the one doing the most for the economic welfare of the State gets the votes, we will have attained a position of political strength in the nation to which this old Commonwealth is entitled by reason of her past history and glorious prestige.

The Republican party invites support not only for its national ticket but for the ticket inside the State, with the belief that such support would mean the best interest of the State of North Carolina.

In my short speech of acceptance in the Charlotte Convention I emphasized the fact that the one feature of that great convention which impressed me more perhaps than any other, which appealed strongly to me, and which had largely to do with my decision, was the presence of so many stalwart young men who had enlisted under the Republican standard.

AN APPEAL TO YOUNG MEN

And I cannot conclude this letter without making an earnest appeal to the young men of our State.

The economic and political conditions of 1908 in North Carolina are not what they were in 1868. Conditions have changed. To these young men I am not appealing for their votes, for I would not have them vote otherwise than their judgment and conscience dictate. But to them I do appeal and ask that they study the history of the policies and achievements of the great Republican party of this country and to study well the opportunities which this party has made possible for them before they choose their political affiliations.

In a certain sense a young man of intelligence and courage is a more impartial judge of the relative merits of political parties than the man who is embittered by the memories of dead issues and who allows the prejudices of the past to warp his judgment and who is influenced by a fancied fear of inconsistency.

By the law of nature the future destiny of the State is in the hands of the young men. They must take our places when we are gone, write the laws, fill the offices and blaze and cut out the intellectual, political and industrial highway.

It is the first step that counts, said the great Napoleon. It is oftentimes a man's first vote that determines his political future.

To the young men I appeal most earnestly to give to the great questions which are today before the people of North Carolina their closest study and their calmest judgment, and to follow the fortunes of the political party which stands for the principles and policies best calculated to insure the peace and prosperity of this great State. I ask them to shape their course by hopes of the future and not by prejudices of the past. More I have no right to ask, less they cannot afford to do.

Finally, if elected Governor of North Carolina my administration will not be characterized as a political administration, but purely that of a business man, having no axe to grind, or political debts to pay, or future political ambition to satisfy.

Respectfully,

J. ELWOOD COX.

High Point, September 17th, 1908.

The Facts

To the People of North Carolina:

Since my testimony given before the Inter-state Commerce Commission in May 1905, has been so garbled and distorted by political opponents I have felt it a duty to submit the entire testimony word for word from the record, and I ask the reader to remember that when this testimony was given I had in mind only the business interests of my own community and did not have in mind the interests or grievance of other communities, and referred only to outgoing shipments. There were probably fifty other witnesses present at the time from other sections of the country, and each was called upon and expected to testify as to conditions in his own town and community. I was opposed then, and am opposed now, to all rebates and discriminations and any inference to the contrary is unwarranted by my testimony:

STATEMENT OF J. ELWOOD COX.

Senator Cullom—Please state your name.

Mr. Cox—J. Elwood Cox.

Senator Cullom—Where do you live?

Mr. Cox—At High Point, N. C.

Senator Cullom—What is your business?

Mr. Cox—I am engaged in manufacturing, in the line of hard woods mainly. I manufacture shuttle blocks, bobbin heads, and things of that character. I have a number of different plants in the South, in several different States—in North Carolina, South Carolina, Arkansas, and Mississippi. I ship the products of those plants mainly in this country. About two-thirds of the product is shipped in this country, and about one-third I export. I simply want to give a little bit of my experience. I have been in this business for twenty-five years, and I think in all that time, not only on the Southern Railroad, but on any other line over which I have shipped, I never have had a grievance which did not result in either in my getting what I wanted when I properly presented my case to the railroad officials, or in their convincing me that I was wrong in my request.

In addition to that line of business, I am largely interested in the manufacture of furniture in High Point. There is a great deal of furniture manufactured there, and we are now making street cars. There is no railroad competition there, and I mention these facts

to show that the Southern Railroad have been reasonably fair to us. Our town has grown from about 2,000 people in 1890 to about 10,000 people at present. In 1890, when we began the manufacture of furniture there, we had about 2,000 people and we began in a very small way. The first company organized there had a capital stock of \$9,000. To-day we have 50 factories and more than a half million dollars represented. We ship about 40 carloads a day of manufactured furniture and a good portion of this goes to the Pacific coast.

I may also state that I am the president of the Manufacturers' Club in High Point, and while I have no written authority I know I voice the sentiments of the manufacturers there when I state that we would rather deal directly with the railroad officials than with some governmental official.

Senator Cullom—I suppose you are aware that we do not expect it will be required that you should go to a commission in the first instance in order to get a rate.

Mr. Cox—I discovered that since I came here. We had the impression, and I think the most of the country has the impression, that this commission would actually make the rates.

Senator Cullom—Yes, I infer that they have that impression from what other gentlemen have said.

Mr. Cox—I got that impression myself.

Senator Cullom—if you go on dealing with the railroads as you are doing and finally come to a point where you disagree, would you have very much objection to submitting the question of discrimination to a commission for determination?

Mr. Cox—Well, that certainly would not be so bad as to have the rates fixed finally by the Government official, who might not be an expert and who might be uneducated in that line of business and possibly incompetent.

Senator Cullom—Most of the members of the present Interstate Commerce Commission have been in office for a good many years and they are necessarily dealing with these questions every day.

Mr. Cox—Yes, sir.

Senator Cullom—Do you think they would be a dangerous tribunal to go before with any such questions?

Mr. Cox—I would think not, sir.

Senator Cullom—Then the only point of difference between different people on this subject is that many people desire that this Commission shall have the power when they determine what a reasonable rate is to fix the rate, while the railroad men and others say they do not want them to have that power at all. That is the

contention existing here between the railroads and other people, and we are trying to find out what ought to be done.

Mr. Cox—It seems to me, Senator, that the difficulty there is that whatever the Government fixed would be inflexible; there would be no changing it hereafter. If they happened to get it too high the railroads, perhaps, would not want to lower it.

Senator Cullom—Suppose the court fixed it. What would you want to do then?

Mr. Cox—It would be the same thing; it would be inflexible. There would be no change, and as I said in the outset, so far as my experience goes, we would get what we want by dealing directly with the railroad officials, the traffic managers who come there and who know the circumstances and conditions surrounding us. That is the case in the territory that I represent. The traffic managers come there. The division freight agent comes there and we appeal to him, and if we do not get what we want we appeal to the higher officials, and oftentimes we have them come there.

Senator Cullum—What I wish to do is simply to call your attention to the fact that there is nobody proposing to pass a law requiring that the Commission shall make the rates in the first instance at all but it is simply proposed to give the Commission the power to determine what a reasonable rate is, where you complain or a community complains; and if the rate is determined to be unreasonable, that that Commission shall have the power to say what a reasonable rate is.

Mr. Cox—Well, perhaps there would be no objection to that; but generally we understand when the Government does a thing that it is inflexible; that it is ironclad, and there is no getting away from it. We think we are closer to the railroad people and that they are closer to us than the Government itself would be.

Senator Cullom—Of course, if they are closer to you and you get along with them all right, you never would make a complaint.

Mr. Cox—That is true.

Senator Cullom—You may proceed with your statement.

Mr. Cox—Well, sir, that about covers the ground. I wished simply to state that we think if these rates were established there would be little possibility of a change, and that we would rather deal with the people with whom we are acquainted and who have manifested an interest in our community. Of course, our interests are mutual, as has been demonstrated here by almost every person who has spoken.

Senator Dolliver—You have 50 furniture factories in your city?

Mr. Cox—Yes; some very small and some large.

Senator Dolliver—That is a magnificent showing.

Mr. Cox—Yes; we have a very good showing. The largest cor-

poration has a capital of \$175,000 and the smallest would be perhaps \$4,000 or \$5,000, manufacturing some branch line, not on a very large scale. But it is an interesting fact that this town has been built up practically in the last fifteen years, and while we have sometimes had difficulties and grievances with the Southern Railway we have always been able to settle them, and they have demonstrated that they have an interest in us. As I say, we ship a good deal now to the Pacific coast. If there was a rate established at so much per ton per mile, which I believe is not likely to be the case, such towns as Grand Rapids, Mich., and Evansville, Ind., which are in competition with us, and Memphis, Tenn., where lumber is just as abundant as at High Point, they would cut us out of the Pacific coast trade. We ship a lot of stuff to the Pacific coast. We have a rate now to the Pacific coast of \$1.75 per hundred. I am not quite sure what the Evansville rate is, but I think it is \$1.45. They are almost half way to the Pacific coast from us, but their rate is not very much less than ours.

The Chairman—I should like to ask one question here. In this locality where you live and in the country generally are there any complaints of the rates being too high?

Mr. Cox—Very little, sir.

The Chairman—The rates are generally acquiesced in by the shippers

Mr. Cox—Yes, that is generally the case. I think we have had more complaint about the scarcity of cars during the busy season in the spring and fall than anything else; more than we have had about freight rates. We had a great dearth of furniture cars at one time. It takes an especially large car to get in the minimum weight. They issued an order at one time to send every furniture car on their line to High Point, and in a matter of ten days we had plenty of cars.

Senator Dolliver—You could not ask anything more than that?

Mr. Cox—We could not ask anything more than that. I only give that as an illustration of their efforts to help us. I think we are giving them about 40 cars a day, and they can afford to do it."

The Facts

To the People of North Carolina:

Since my testimony given before the Inter-state Commerce Commission in May 1905, has been so garbled and distorted by political opponents I have felt it a duty to submit the entire testimony word for word from the record, and I ask the reader to remember that when this testimony was given I had in mind only the business interests of my own community and did not have in mind the interests or grievance of other communities, and referred only to outgoing shipments. There were probably fifty other witnesses present at the time from other sections of the country, and each was called upon and expected to testify as to conditions in his own town and community. I was opposed then, and am opposed now, to all rebates and discriminations and any inference to the contrary is unwarranted by my testimony:

STATEMENT OF J. ELWOOD COX.

Senator Cullom—Please state your name.

Mr. Cox—J. Elwood Cox.

Senator Cullom—Where do you live?

Mr. Cox—At High Point, N. C.

Senator Cullom—What is your business?

Mr. Cox—I am engaged in manufacturing, in the line of hard woods mainly. I manufacture shuttle blocks, bobbin heads, and things of that character. I have a number of different plants in the South, in several different States—in North Carolina, South Carolina, Arkansas, and Mississippi. I ship the products of those plants mainly in this country. About two-thirds of the product is shipped in this country, and about one-third I export. I simply want to give a little bit of my experience. I have been in this business for twenty-five years, and I think in all that time, not only on the Southern Railroad, but on any other line over which I have shipped, I never have had a grievance which did not result in either in my getting what I wanted when I properly presented my case to the railroad officials, or in their convincing me that I was wrong in my request.

In addition to that line of business, I am largely interested in the manufacture of furniture in High Point. There is a great deal of furniture manufactured there, and we are now making street cars. There is no railroad competition there, and I mention these facts

to show that the Southern Railroad have been reasonably fair to us. Our town has grown from about 2,000 people in 1890 to about 10,000 people at present. In 1890, when we began the manufacture of furniture there, we had about 2,000 people and we began in a very small way. The first company organized there had a capital stock of \$9,000. To-day we have 50 factories and more than a half million dollars represented. We ship about 40 carloads a day of manufactured furniture and a good portion of this goes to the Pacific coast.

I may also state that I am the president of the Manufacturers' Club in High Point, and while I have no written authority I know I voice the sentiments of the manufacturers there when I state that we would rather deal directly with the railroad officials than with some governmental official.

Senator Cullom—I suppose you are aware that we do not expect it will be required that you should go to a commission in the first instance in order to get a rate.

Mr. Cox—I discovered that since I came here. We had the impression, and I think the most of the country has the impression, that this commission would actually make the rates.

Senator Cullom—Yes, I infer that they have that impression from what other gentlemen have said.

Mr. Cox—I got that impression myself.

Senator Cullom—if you go on dealing with the railroads as you are doing and finally come to a point where you disagree, would you have very much objection to submitting the question of discrimination to a commission for determination?

Mr. Cox—Well, that certainly would not be so bad as to have the rates fixed finally by the Government official, who might not be an expert and who might be uneducated in that line of business and possibly incompetent.

Senator Cullom—Most of the members of the present Interstate Commerce Commission have been in office for a good many years and they are necessarily dealing with these questions every day.

Mr. Cox—Yes, sir.

Senator Cullom—Do you think they would be a dangerous tribunal to go before with any such questions?

Mr. Cox—I would think not, sir.

Senator Cullom—Then the only point of difference between different people on this subject is that many people desire that this Commission shall have the power when they determine what a reasonable rate is to fix the rate, while the railroad men and others say they do not want them to have that power at all. That is the

contention existing here between the railroads and other people, and we are trying to find out what ought to be done.

Mr. Cox—It seems to me, Senator, that the difficulty there is that whatever the Government fixed would be inflexible; there would be no changing it hereafter. If they happened to get it too high the railroads, perhaps, would not want to lower it.

Senator Cullom—Suppose the court fixed it. What would you want to do then?

Mr. Cox—It would be the same thing; it would be inflexible. There would be no change, and as I said in the outset, so far as my experience goes, we would get what we want by dealing directly with the railroad officials, the traffic managers who come there and who know the circumstances and conditions surrounding us. That is the case in the territory that I represent. The traffic managers come there. The division freight agent comes there and we appeal to him, and if we do not get what we want we appeal to the higher officials, and oftentimes we have them come there.

Senator Cullum—What I wish to do is simply to call your attention to the fact that there is nobody proposing to pass a law requiring that the Commission shall make the rates in the first instance at all but it is simply proposed to give the Commission the power to determine what a reasonable rate is, where you complain or a community complains; and if the rate is determined to be unreasonable, that that Commission shall have the power to say what a reasonable rate is.

Mr. Cox—Well, perhaps there would be no objection to that; but generally we understand when the Government does a thing that it is inflexible; that it is ironclad, and there is no getting away from it. We think we are closer to the railroad people and that they are closer to us than the Government itself would be.

Senator Cullom—Of course, if they are closer to you and you get along with them all right, you never would make a complaint.

Mr. Cox—That is true.

Senator Cullom—You may proceed with your statement.

Mr. Cox—Well, sir, that about covers the ground. I wished simply to state that we think if these rates were established there would be little possibility of a change, and that we would rather deal with the people with whom we are acquainted and who have manifested an interest in our community. Of course, our interests are mutual, as has been demonstrated here by almost every person who has spoken.

Senator Dolliver—You have 50 furniture factories in your city?

Mr. Cox—Yes; some very small and some large.

Senator Dolliver—That is a magnificent showing.

Mr. Cox—Yes; we have a very good showing. The largest cor-

poration has a capital of \$175,000 and the smallest would be perhaps \$4,000 or \$5,000, manufacturing some branch line, not on a very large scale. But it is an interesting fact that this town has been built up practically in the last fifteen years, and while we have sometimes had difficulties and grievances with the Southern Railway we have always been able to settle them, and they have demonstrated that they have an interest in us. As I say, we ship a good deal now to the Pacific coast. If there was a rate established at so much per ton per mile, which I believe is not likely to be the case, such towns as Grand Rapids, Mich., and Evansville, Ind., which are in competition with us, and Memphis, Tenn., where lumber is just as abundant as at High Point, they would cut us out of the Pacific coast trade. We ship a lot of stuff to the Pacific coast. We have a rate now to the Pacific coast of \$1.75 per hundred. I am not quite sure what the Evansville rate is, but I think it is \$1.45. They are almost half way to the Pacific coast from us, but their rate is not very much less than ours.

The Chairman—I should like to ask one question here. In this locality where you live and in the country generally are there any complaints of the rates being too high?

Mr. Cox—Very little, sir.

The Chairman—The rates are generally acquiesced in by the shippers

Mr. Cox—Yes, that is generally the case. I think we have had more complaint about the scarcity of cars during the busy season in the spring and fall than anything else; more than we have had about freight rates. We had a great dearth of furniture cars at one time. It takes an especially large car to get in the minimum weight. They issued an order at one time to send every furniture car on their line to High Point, and in a matter of ten days we had plenty of cars.

Senator Dólliver—You could not ask anything more than that?

Mr. Cox—We could not ask anything more than that. I only give that as an illustration of their efforts to help us. I think we are giving them about 40 cars a day, and they can afford to do it."

READ !

Facts and Figures for the Tax Payer

The voter who is fair enough to read both sides and who is seeking the truth is invited to read and digest what follows before casting his vote on the third day of November next.

The Democratic claim for good government in this state sounds much better when it is talked than it appears when the real figures and facts are shown and considered. The state expenses last year as shown by the Auditor's report was \$2,721,728.00. This is more than twice what the Republicans spent their last year, that is, in 1898. When you charge the Democrats with this they meet the charge by saying that these extraordinary expenses were for schools, charitable purposes and pensions to the old soldiers, but take care never to mention the specific amounts expended for each. The reports of the Auditor for 1898, the last Republican year, and for 1907, the last Democratic year, show figures and facts. After giving the Democratic party credit for every dollar appropriated for school purposes of every kind, for charitable purposes of every kind and for the old soldiers of every kind, and deducting all this from their grand total of expenditures, the record shows that they spent in round numbers about as much outside of these appropriations as the Republicans spent for everything and all purposes in their last year.

In verification of this statement, let the reader carefully study the itemized statement of their expenses last year for school purposes, charitable purposes and for the old soldiers, which is as follows:

Last Democratic Year, 1907

SCHOOLS

Appalachian Training School	\$ 8,500.00
Appropriation for public schools	192,500.00
Appropriation for rural libraries	5,375.00
Appropriation for public high schools	43,445.00
Colored normals	23,990.00
Croatan normals	1,064.00
Cullowhee Normal and Industrial School	9,000.00
Eastern Carolina Training School	7,500.00
Elhanan Training School	500.00
Indigent pupils	6,500.00
N. C. Agricultural and Mechanical College (colored)	24,400.00
N. C. Agricultural and Mechanical College (white)	105,100.00
State Normal and Industrial College	95,000.00
University of North Carolina	94,750.00
	\$ 617,210.00

CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS

Dangerous insane	\$ 2,000.00
North Carolina Institution for Deaf, Dumb and Blind.....	73,100.00
North Carolina Sanitarium for Tuberculosis	2,500.00
North Carolina Institute for Deaf and Dumb.....	50,250.00
Oxford Asylum (colored)	6,250.00
Oxford Asylum (white)	10,000.00
State Hospital Commissions	112,300.00
State Hospital, Goldsboro	65,000.00
State Hospital, Morganton	150,000.00
State Hospital, Raleigh	118,438.00

PENSIONS

Appropriation for disabled soldiers	\$ 12,900.00
Pensions	270,269.00
Soldiers' Home	18,000.00

SUMMARY

Schools	\$ 617,210.00
Charity	\$ 589,838.00
Old soldiers, etc.	301,169.00

\$1508,217.00

The above shows a total expenditure for these purposes of \$1,508,217.00. This, deducted from total expenses of \$2,721,728.00, leaves for ordinary state expenses, \$1,213,511.00, while as a matter of fact the entire state expenses under the last year of the Republican administration was \$1,283,971.00, which includes their appropriations for schools, charitable purposes and pensions. Now let the voter read the following statement. which shows what the Republicans spent for these purposes:

Last Republican Year. 1898

SCHOOLS

Indigent pupils	\$ 5,669.00
Normal schools	16,750.00
N. C. Agricultural and Mechanical College (Greensboro),.....	18,414.00
N. C. Agricultural and Mechanical College (Raleigh).....	35,585.00
State Normal and Industrial College (Greensboro).....	25,000.00
Supplemental appropriation for public schools	10,856.00
University of North Carolina	25,000.00

CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS

\$ 137,274.00

Department of criminal insane	\$ 3,000.00
Eastern Hospital, Goldsboro	40,000.00
North Carolina Insane Asylum (Raleigh)	55,450.00
North Carolina Institute for Deaf, Dumb and Blind (Raleigh).....	97,500.00
North Carolina Institute for Deaf and Dumb (Morganton).....	55,000.00
Oxford Orphan Asylum (white)	10,000.00
Oxford Orphan Asylum (colored)	5,000.00
State Hospital (Morganton)	90,000.00

\$ 355,950.00

PENSIONS

Appropriation for disabled Confederate soldiers.....	\$ 3,960.00
Pensions	100,840.00
Soldiers' Home	8,500.00
<hr/>	
	\$ 113,300.00

SUMMARY

Charitable institutions	\$ 355,950.00
Old soldiers	113,300.00
Schools	137,274.00
<hr/>	
Total for these purposes	\$ 606,524.00
<hr/>	
Total expenses for 1898	1,283,971.00
For schools, etc.	606,524.00
<hr/>	
Ordinary state expenses	\$ 677,447.00

The \$606,524.00 for schools, charitable institutions and pensions, deducted from their total expenses of \$1,283.971.00, leaves \$677,447.00 which the Republicans spent for other state purposes outside of schools, charity and pensions, which is just about half of what the Democrats have spent. And yet they call ours bad government and theirs good.

The question which must occur to the voter is, what has become of this enormous amount of money? The answer is, it has gone to pay extra officers who have been foisted upon the people, largely to pay political debts and in hundreds of other ways as may be seen by reference to a few departments and contrasting them. Let us look at them.

The Department of Agriculture in 1898 cost \$61,377.00. Last year under the Democrats it cost \$108,719.00. Here is more than \$47,000.00 increase in this one department. We leave to the farmers of the state to say what increased benefit they have derived from that enormous expenditure.

Let us next take the Auditor's Department, which under the last year of Republican rule cost \$3,500.00. Last year under the Democrats it cost \$6,692.00, a difference of \$3,192.00, or nearly double.

Next let us take the Executive Department, which under Republican rule cost \$4,800.00, while under the Democrats it cost \$7,091.00.

Again, take the laborers' pay roll around the capitol, which under Republicans amounted to \$5,723.00, and under the Democrats it cost \$10,271.00.

Let us next take the legal services and expenses where the Democrats were giving employment to their Democratic lawyers and campaign orators. Under Republicans this cost \$5,206.00, and last year under the Democrats it cost \$9,375.00, or practically double. The reader will recall that the distinguished Democratic Speaker of the last House, who was largely instrumental in the enactment of certain legislation, was handsomely rewarded for his legal services in defending the laws which he helped to enact. If to the foregoing had been added the expenses of the railroad litigation, it would have been more than \$35,000.00.

Attention is called to the care of the Governor's mansion and grounds, which cost the Republicans \$1,883.00, while our Democratic friends have paid

out the sum of \$3,316.00, or nearly double. It is to be noted that while the Republicans paid out nothing for the care of public buildings and grounds, the Democrats spent the sum of \$6,326.00.

The State Department under Dr. Cyrus Thompson cost \$3,980.00, and last year under Mr. Grimes it cost \$7,163.00.

The Treasury Department under Republicans cost \$6,250.00, while under the Democrats last year it cost \$9,009.00.

The total of these items alone on the Republican side is \$92,719.00, and on the Democratic side it is \$173,622.00. For these few items alone we find an increase of \$80,903.00, and this species of extravagance can be traced through every department of the state government, which explains where nearly \$600,000.00 of the people's taxes go, and which is more than the entire yearly cost of the state government under the administration of Governor Jarvis.

The increase in these items can be better appreciated by examining the following tables. The Democrats spent last year as follows:

Agricultural Department	\$ 108,719.00
Auditor's Department	6,692.00
Department of Public Instruction	5,660.00
Executive Department	7,091.00
Laborers' pay roll	10,271.00
Legal services	9,373.00
Mansion and grounds	3,316.00
Public buildings and grounds	6,326.00
State Department	7,163.00
Treasury Department	9,009.00
	<hr/>
	\$ 173,622.00

The Republicans spent in 1898 for the same purpose as follows:

Agricultural Department	\$ 61,377.00
Auditor's Department	3,500.00
Executive Department	4,800.00
Governor's mansion and grounds	1,883.00
Laborers' pay roll	5,723.00
Legal services and expenses	5,206.00
State Department	3,980.00
Treasury Department	6,250.00
	<hr/>
	\$ 92,719.00

Mr. Kitchin==A Ripsnorting Demagogue

His election means “trouble and injury to the Commonwealth.”

“A dozen years of absolute emptiness behind him in Congress.”

“Will array class against class, labor against capital, man against man.”

“A campaign reeking with slander, falsehood, and hypocrisy.”

The above extracts are from the pen of a Democratic editor and a Democratic official of the present state administration. To get their full force and meaning let the reader peruse the following editorial taken word for word from the editorial page of the Lexington Dispatch of June 10th, 1908, whose editor, Mr. H. B. Varner, is the present Democratic Commissioner of Labor and Printing. This is Democratic authority and it is submitted to the reader without dotting an i or crossing a t. If these things were true in June, are they not true in September? and if they are true in September, will they not be true on the 3rd day of November next? Mr. Voter, read for yourself this Democratic testimony:

“We deem it quite a privilege to be able to air the fact that Mr. William Walton Kitchin, candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor, has publicly proclaimed that the editor of the Dispatch is the biggest liar in North Carolina newspaperdom. We consider the expression so complimentary to us, however, that our modesty rebukes us somewhat for our exultation in public. Abuse from this arrogant and unscrupu-

lous abuser of all who do not fall down and worship when his trump sounds the call is a distinct honor, and we are pleased to find ourselves enrolled among his undesirables, who include ex-Governor Charles Brantley Ayecock, a name that thrills the state; Senator F. M. Simmons, whom Democrats have been delighted to honor; Gen. Julian S. Carr, who stands high in the esteem of the people, and others whose services to the Democratic party and to the state count nothing with this compeer of the Low Combed Rooster of Arkansaw because, forsooth, they have had the unparalleled audacity to advocate the nomination of some other than this North Carolina Vardaman, this Tar Heel Heflin, this Fifth District Hoax Myth, with all and more of the original's fraud and hypocrisy and half of his sense.

"The Dispatch has opposed Mr. Kitchin, believing and still believing that his nomination means disruption in the Democratic party, and his election trouble and injury to the commonwealth. Others have opposed him on the same ground. All such at once have become liars, scoundrels, thieves, slaves of corporate wealth, dishonest men who are propagating an accursed doctrine called sanity and conservatism for hire. The immediate cause of Mr. William Walton's outburst was the charge, substantiated by published names, that Southern Railway attorneys were for him, despite his blatant assertion that the railway was fighting him; that tobacco trust employes were for him, in the face of his whine that the trust was trying to crush him; that his state manager was so closely affiliated with the tobacco trust that he smelled of snuff. The near-statesman from Person has not yet denied this. He can't deny it, nor can he harmonize his assertions with these facts. His answer to them is: 'You are the biggest liar in North Carolina newspaperdom.'

"In the midst of a campaign reeking with slander, falsehood, hypocrisy and blood-curdling charges that great monsters are about to eat him alive, with a dozen years of absolute emptiness behind him in Congress, this ripsnorting demagogue turns upon a newspaper that punctured his gasbag with facts, and, like the ass he is, brays, "You are a liar," in the absence of other counter-argument.

"This is the plane upon which a gubernatorial campaign has been pitched by William Walton. It is the plane of campaigns that have been pitched by Vardamans, Heflins, Davises, Smiths, Debses and Haywoods all over the Union, for the sake of gratifying cold-blooded ambition and selfish desires. It will be a sad day for the North Carolina Democracy when it places its standard, heretofore borne by statesmen, in the hands of this man. He will build up—the state? the party? only Kitchin. He will be patriotic? Sure! He loves the name of Kitchin so well that he tips his hat whenever he speaks it. He will appeal to the best in the commonwealth and lead that forward and upward? No. To be United States Senator, as he has to be Governor, he will appeal to the worst, to the ignorant, to the prejudiced, to the passions, to prohibitionists and to anti-prohibitionists with equal ease; will array class against class, labor against capital, man against man, Democrat against Democrat, until North Carolina will sink in the esteem of other states to a level she has never sounded before under Democratic rule. With him it is rule or ruin, and if he rules he will ruin. It is nothing for him to drive a Democrat out of the party in a sentence. It is nothing to him to war on capital for votes. It is nothing to him to put North Carolina's welfare in the balance to gain office. His nomination by the Democrats at Charlotte would mean the beginning of the end of Democratic rule in this state, for with unbridled fury he has assailed men who were standing like a wall for Democracy when he was juggling with Mary Ann Butler for Populist votes, for the sole reason that they are not for him, and he is today undermining the defenses of the Democracy with every speech he makes."

MR. COX—The Business Man

MR. KITCHIN—The Politician

The New Bern Sun, a leading Democratic newspaper, in its advocacy of the nomination of Mr. Ashley Horne for Governor, on the 18th of May last, declared that “the problems confronting the ‘chief executive’ during the coming administration will be largely financial and relating to the business interests of the people.”

If this Democratic assertion be true, and no one doubts it, then which is the better qualified to deal with the financial and “the business interests of the people”—Mr. Cox, the cool-headed, practical, successful business man, or Mr. Kitchin, the professional politician with “a dozen years of absolute emptiness behind him in Congress”? To which, Mr. Voter, do you prefer to give the management of your business?

“A Dangerous Man—A Destroyer”

“Totally Unfit For the High Office”

“RAISING HELL ALL THE TIME”

Mr. Voter, if you wish further Democratic evidence of the unfitness of Mr. Kitchin for the high office of Governor, read the following which is taken from the editorial page of the Asheville Citizen of June 9th, 1908, the leading Democratic newspaper of Western North Carolina. Please bear in mind that in this document is printed only Democratic testimony. If these things were true before the convention, they are true after the convention. Read and ponder:

“Were there no other reasons calling urgently for the defeat of W. W. Kitchin for the gubernatorial nomination, we would certainly find it in his speech at Raleigh Thursday night. The man who has heretofore boasted of his democracy has certainly taken leave of his senses when he openly and viciously slanders his party and the leaders of his party. This fellow Kitchin is indeed a dangerous man and totally unfit for the high office he has sought to obtain at the sacrifice of the people’s interests which he swore to protect in the halls of Congress. To satisfy an unholy appetite for political power he would destroy party, principles and people. He has entered upon a campaign of misrepresentation and villification beside which the basest efforts of our Republican opponents pale into insignificance. In the presence of Democrats he viciously attacked and slandered Simmons, Aycock and other men who have labored long to build up the Democracy of this state.”

“We repeat that Kitchin is a destroyer; a man who would never be happy in office unless he was, as The Charlotte

Observer expresses it, ‘raising hell all the time.’ He is another such man as Hoke Smith, a type which the people of Georgia recently repudiated with scorn and loathing. Is the welfare of the Democratic party to be sacrificed to advance the political ambition of this gallery player? Things have indeed come to a pretty pass when an alleged Democrat wages a filthy war against men of his party. Has all sense of decency and honor left the Kitchin family in this wild greed for political pie? We think that recent events answer this question.”

Was the Election in 1898 Stolen?

The Republicans for ten years have charged that it was, while the Democrats for ten years have denied it. In the recent mad scramble for the gubernatorial nomination in the Democratic party—in a campaign “*reeking with slander, falsehood, hypocrisy and blood-curdling charges,*” according to Editor Varner—we have the admission, the confession, and the truth at last from Mr. Kitchin that “the poll-holders” carried the state in 1898 and also in 1900. There is an old saying that “when thieves fall out, honest men get their dues”. It seems that when Democratic politicians fall out the people get the truth. The New Bern Sun, a Democratic paper, was vigorously opposed to the nomination of Mr. Kitchin because Mr. Kitchin declared that “poll-holders and not the voters carried the election in 1898 and in 1900”. Here is an extract from the editorial page of the New Bern Sun of 23rd day of May, 1908, in which it arraigns and scores Mr. Kitchin for “telling tales out of school”:

“But Mr. Kitchin says that Simmons and Aycock and Glenn and Craig, and their able and patriotic followers, did not do it at all—that they do not deserve the credit and the

reward, if any is to be given. The poll-holders, Mr. Kitchin says, did it, and if there is to be any reward it should go to them. This is just what the radicals have been saying, continue to say, never tire of saying. What they mean to charge is that we did not carry the state in 1898—but stole it! We Democrats have always resented that statement when made by Republicans. Why should we endorse it when insinuated by a Democrat? It is a serious charge. It is not a true charge. Whenever Republicans have made it we have branded it as false. It is now for the first time made by a Democrat, and that Democrat is a candidate for the nomination of his party for Governor!

“If we nominate him will we not have to admit the charge? Does the Democratic party want to nominate or elect a man Governor of North Carolina who in effect says the poll-holders and not the voters carried the election in 1898, and adopted the amendment in 1900?

“Nominate Mr. Kitchin after this charge, and on a thousand stumps in North Carolina the Republican campaign orators will, in the coming campaign, point the finger of scorn at us and say: ‘You dare not deny it, for you nominated for Governor the man who said it, and you stand self-confessed!’”

And this is the same Mr. Kitchin who insults the people of North Carolina by declaring in his opening campaign speech at Wentworth that the voters might as well deposit their votes in the rural delivery mail boxes as in the ballot-box, meaning of course that the Democratic poll-holders and not the voters will carry the election in 1908 if necessary. With the amendment adopted, with the white man free, with the cry of negro domination forever hushed, how long shall Halifax methods continue to thwart the will of the people? In short, shall the Kitchens or the people rule in North Carolina? Let the voter answer in November.

Time For Business Men to Take Command

In an unguarded moment the Wilmington Star, the leading Democratic newspaper of its section, in its issue of the 12th of September, 1908, uttered a timely warning and gave voice to the Republican idea in this campaign. Here is what it says:

"It is time that the men of the country who, by their energy, pluck and business qualifications are qualified to keep the ship of state afloat and off the breakers, were taking command of the ship and seeing to it that she is not allowed to be wrecked under the management of incompetent navigators, generally known as professional politicians."

REPUBLICANS, TAKE NOTICE

Headquarters Republican State Executive Committee,
Greensboro, N. C., September 22nd, 1908.

Every person who expects to cast a vote in the coming election must register and this is the last registration by which you will be protected by the Grand-father Clause.

So if you fail to get your name on the registration books you will be forever barred from registration unless you can pass a rigid examination.

So don't fail to register and see that your name is properly put on the books. There was never a more important election held in North Carolina than the one now fronting us. The Democratic candidate for Governor is reported in the press of the State as having said in his speech at Wentworth, Rockingham County, that the Republicans might as well deposit their votes in the rural mail boxes as in the ballot-box. We do not believe that the Democratic poll-holders will regard this as anything short of an insult to them, to be resented accordingly. For the honor of human nature, let us hope so.

It remains to be seen whether this defiant utterance and ill-concealed threat on the part of Mr. Kitchin will avail to suppress in even the most ringridden counties of the state the voice of freemen and the action of officials chosen for their supposed high character.

Attached hereto is a brief summary of the more important points in the election law of our state for the guidance of our friends in matters of registration, removal, and counting.

Brief Synopsis of the North Carolina Election Law as Amended by last Legislature, 1907

The election this year will be held on the third day of November and shall continue from sunrise to sunset of that day.

Two years in the state, six months in the county and four months in the precinct or ward of his residence, is the time required to qualify a voter otherwise eligible.

No one can vote unless his name is on the Register's books. No person who is a candidate for any office can be a Registrar or Judge of Election.

Polling places shall not be changed unless upon twenty days public notice in newspaper or otherwise.

CERTIFICATE OF ELECTION AND RETURN OF VOTE

The chairman of the County Board of Elections shall furnish within ten days to the member or members elected to the House of Representatives, and

to the Senate where the county is a senatorial district, a certificate of election under his hand and seal.

He shall also immediately notify all persons elected to county offices to meet at the Court House 1st Monday of December to be qualified.

On or before the fifth day after election, he shall mail the Speaker of the House of Representatives, in care of the Secretary of State, a separate statement of the votes cast in his county for the various state offices.

A failure in this is made indictable and is also penalized.

Eleven days instead of five is given in the case of Carteret, Hyde and Dare.

CERTIFICATES IN SENATORIAL DISTRICTS OF MORE THAN ONE COUNTY

The chairmen of the County Boards shall meet at the designated places in their senatorial districts on the 9th day after the election and after a comparison of the polls shall judicially determine the result of the election for Senators and give certificates accordingly.

If a majority of the chairmen are not present at the meeting, an adjournment shall be taken for one week and the absent parties notified by the Sheriff.

REMOVAL OF VOTERS AND THE PERMANENT ROLL

Removing from one precinct or ward to another in the same county within four months just before the election shall not deprive a citizen of his vote; but he must register and vote in the place from which he moved, not in the place he came to.

A married man's residence is where his family are, a single man's is where he sleeps.

Any person may have a voter sworn as to his place of residence by the Registrar or Judge of Election and "sworn" shall be marked opposite his name on the books.

The Clerk of the Superior Court is required to give a certificate where the original certificate of registration is lost that a voter removing from his county to another county has his name entered on the permanent roll of the county from which he moved, and this certificate shall be prima facie evidence of his right to register and vote in the new home and the same is true where the removal is from one precinct to another in the same county.

POLL BOOKS

At the close of the election the Judge and Registrar shall certify over their proper signatures or a majority of them as to the poll books containing the names of every voter who that day voted and one copy of these books shall be deposited with the Register of Deeds, and one with the chairman of the County Board of Elections for safe keeping.

REGISTRATION BOOKS

The Registrar is required to keep open his books for twenty days before the day for closing registration and his hours are fixed from nine o'clock in the morning until sunset, Sundays only excepted.

The books are to be closed the second Saturday before the election at sunset. On each Saturday during the twenty days period he must be with his books at the polling place of his precinct or ward.

He must be sworn before he can act as Registrar.

CHALLENGES

On the Saturday before the election from nine o'clock in the morning until three o'clock in the afternoon the Registrar must be at the polling place of his precinct or ward with his books. They shall be open to the inspection of all the voters of that precinct or ward and any voter may object to the name of any person on the roll, in which event the Registrar shall mark challenged against such name and fix a time and place to determine with the Judges of Election the right of such challenged party to vote, first giving him personal notice or leaving a copy of the notice at his residence. (N. B. It will be seen that this leaves only the one day, Monday, intervening between the challenge day and the election.) The act moreover allows a challenge to be made "at any time other than that above specified" and if the challenge is sustained the Registrar is required to erase the name from his book.

HOW CHALLENGES ARE HEARD

The Judges with the Registrar are required to explain to the challenged party the qualifications of an elector and if the person claims that he is qualified and proves his identity and residence by the oath of at least one elector, an oath shall be tendered him, setting forth his citizenship and identity and that he has not voted at any other polling place in this election. If he refuses this oath, his vote is rejected. If he shall take the oath, his vote shall be received unless the Judges and Registrar by the oath of other witnesses are satisfied that his vote should not be received. The so-called Bull Pen is not made compulsory upon the Judges and Registrar.

Where the space is roped off and a voter is challenged on election day, one challenger for each political party shall be allowed within the circle to remain till the challenge is decided.

The voter can deposit his own ballot or allow the Judges or Registrar to deposit it for him.

WHAT TICKET TO CONTAIN

The state officers and candidates for Judgeships shall be on one ticket. Presidential Electors on one. Solicitors, Members of Legislature and all county officers on one. Township officers on one.

HOW VOTES ARE COUNTED

When the election is finished the Judges and Registrar in the presence of all such voters as may choose to be present, shall open the boxes and count the ballots, reading aloud the names of the persons upon each ticket, and if two or more tickets appear rolled up together or if a ticket has more than the proper number of names upon it, all such tickets shall be thrown out, and a ballot found in the wrong box shall not be counted unless the election officers are satisfied that the same was placed there by mistake. The counting of votes must be continued without any adjournment till finished and the result declared.

POLL TAX

Every Sheriff or Tax Collector upon the payment of the poll tax shall issue to the person paying the same a certificate showing the amount of such poll tax and the date upon which the same was paid.

Any person having lost his tax receipt, upon making affidavit of such loss and proof of his identity shall be entitled to a duplicate receipt.

TAX RECEIPTS WITHOUT PAYMENT

If any tax collector or sheriff shall fail to give a receipt for poll taxes or falsely date a receipt or a duplicate, he is guilty of a misdemeanor, punishable in the discretion of the Court. In addition to these provisions the law makes it competent for the Judges of Election and Registrar to permit any elector to vote upon his taking the following oath:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that on or before the first day of May of this year I paid my poll tax for the previous year, as required by article six, section four, of the constitution of North Carolina.

.....
Sworn to and subscribed before me, this day....., 19.....

.....
Registrar."

The oath must bear date the day of the election.

Address

of

William H. Taft

in response to

Notification Speech

at

Cincinnati, Ohio

July 28, 1908



Address of William H. Taft

Senator Warner and Gentlemen of the Committee:

I am deeply sensible of the honor which the Republican National Convention has conferred on me in the nomination which you formally tender. I accept it with full appreciation of the responsibility it imposes.

Republican Strength in Maintenance of Roosevelt Policies.

Gentlemen, the strength of the Republican cause in the campaign at hand is in the fact that we represent the policies essential to the reform of known abuses, to the continuance of liberty and true prosperity, and that we are determined, as our platform unequivocally declares, to maintain them and carry them on. For more than ten years this country passed through an epoch of material development far beyond any that ever occurred in the world before. In its course, certain evils crept in. Some prominent and influential members of the community, spurred by financial success and in their hurry for greater wealth, became unmindful of the common rules of business honesty and fidelity and of the limitations imposed by law upon their action. This became known. The revelations of the breaches of trust, the disclosures as to rebates and discriminations by railways, the accumulating evidence of the violation of the anti-trust law by a number of corporations, the overissue of stocks and bonds on interstate railways for the unlawful enriching of directors and for the purpose of concentrating control of railways in one management, all quickened the conscience of the people, and brought on a moral awakening among them that boded well for the future of the country.

What Roosevelt Has Done.

The man who formulated the expression of the popular conscience and who led the movement for practical reform was Theodore Roosevelt. He laid down the doctrine that the rich violator of the law should be as amenable to restraint and punishment as the offender without wealth and without influence, and he proceeded by recommending legislation and directing executive action to make that principle good in actual performance. He secured the passage of the so-called rate bill, designed more effectively to restrain excessive and fix reasonable rates, and to punish secret rebates and discriminations which had been general in the practice of the railroads, and which had done much to enable unlawful trusts to drive

out of business their competitors. It secured much closer supervision of railway transactions and brought within the operation of the same statute express companies, sleeping car companies, fast freight and refrigerator lines, terminal railroads and pipe lines, and in order to avoid undue discrimination, forbade in future the combination of the transportation and shipping business under one control.

President Roosevelt directed suits to be brought and prosecutions to be instituted under the anti-trust law, to enforce its provisions against the most powerful of the industrial corporations. He pressed to passage the pure food law and the meat inspection law in the interest of the health of the public, clean business methods and great ultimate benefit to the trades themselves. He recommended the passage of a law, which the Republican convention has since specifically approved, restricting the future issue of stocks and bonds by interstate railways to such as may be authorized by Federal authority. He demonstrated to the people by what he said, by what he recommended to Congress, and by what he did, the sincerity of his efforts to command respect for the law, to secure equality of all before the law, and to save the country from the dangers of a pluto-cratic government, toward which we were fast tending. In this work Mr. Roosevelt has had the support and sympathy of the Republican party, and its chief hope of success in the present controversy must rest on the confidence which the people of the country have in the sincerity of the party's declaration in its platform, that it intends to continue his policies.

Necessary to Devise Some Means of Permanently Securing Progress Made.

Mr. Roosevelt has set high the standard of business morality and obedience to law. The railroad rate bill was more useful possibly in the immediate moral effect of its passage than even in the legal effect of its very useful provisions. From its enactment dates the voluntary abandonment of the practice of rebates and discriminations by the railroads and the return by their managers to obedience to law in the fixing of tariffs. The pure food and meat inspection laws and the prosecutions directed by the President under the anti-trust law have had a similar moral effect in the general business community and have made it now the common practice for the great industrial corporations to consult the law with a view to keeping within its provisions. It has also had the effect of protecting and encouraging smaller competitive companies so that they have been enabled to do a profitable business.

But we should be blind to the ordinary working of human nature if we did not recognize that the moral standard set by President

Roosevelt will not continue to be observed by those whom cupidity and a desire for financial power may tempt, unless the requisite machinery is introduced into the law which shall in its practical operation maintain these standards and secure the country against a departure from them.

Chief Function of Next Administration to Clinch What Has Been Done.

The chief function of the next Administration, in my judgment, is distinct from, and a progressive development of that which has been performed by President Roosevelt. The chief function of the next Administration is to complete and perfect the machinery by which these standards may be maintained, by which the law-breakers may be promptly restrained and punished, but which shall operate with sufficient accuracy and dispatch to interfere with legitimate business as little as possible. Such machinery is not now adequate. Under the present rate bill, and under all its amendments, the burden of the Interstate Commerce Commission in supervising and regulating the operation of the railroads of this country has grown so heavy that it is utterly impossible for that tribunal to hear and dispose, in any reasonable time, of the many complaints, queries and issues that are brought before it for decision. It ought to be relieved of its jurisdiction as an executive, directing body, and its functions should be limited to the quasi-judicial investigation of complaints made by individuals and made by a department of the Government charged with the executive business of supervising the operation of railways.

There should be a classification of that very small percentage of industrial corporations having power and opportunity to effect illegal restraints of trade and monopolies, and legislation either inducing or compelling them to subject themselves to registry and to proper publicity regulations and supervision of the Department of Commerce and Labor.

Constructive Work of Next Administration to Organize Subordinate and Ancillary Machinery to Maintain Standards on One Hand, and Not to Interfere With Business on the Other.

The field covered by the industrial combinations and by the railroads is so very extensive that the interests of the public and the interests of the businesses concerned cannot be properly subserved except by reorganization of bureaus in the Department of Commerce and Labor, of Agriculture, and the Department of Justice, and a change in the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

It does not assist matters to prescribe new duties for the Interstate Commerce Commission which it is practically impossible for it to perform, or to denounce new offenses with drastic punishment, unless subordinate and ancillary legislation shall be passed making possible the quick enforcement in the great variety of cases which are constantly arising, of the principles laid down by Mr. Roosevelt, and with respect to which only typical instances of prosecution with the present machinery are possible. Such legislation should and would greatly promote legitimate business by enabling those anxious to obey the Federal statutes to know just what are the bounds of their lawful action. The practical constructive and difficult work, therefore, of those who follow Mr. Roosevelt is to devise the ways and means by which the high level of business integrity and obedience to law which he has established may be maintained and departures from it restrained without undue interference with legitimate business.

Railway Traffic Agreements Approved by Commission Should Be Valid.

It is agreeable to note in this regard that the Republican platform expressly and the Democratic platform impliedly, approve an amendment to the Interstate Commerce law, by which interstate railroads may make useful traffic agreements if approved by the Commission. This has been strongly recommended by President Roosevelt and will make for the benefit of the business. .

Physical Valuation of Railways.

Some of the suggestions of the Democratic platform relate really to this subordinate and ancillary machinery to which I have referred: Take for instance the so-called "physical valuation of railways." It is clear that the sum of all rates or receipts of a railway, less proper expenses, should be limited to a fair profit upon the reasonable value of its property, and that if the sum exceeds this measure, it ought to be reduced. The difficulty in enforcing the principle is in ascertaining what is the reasonable value of the company's property, and in fixing what is a fair profit. It is clear that the physical value of a railroad and its plant is an element to be given weight in determining its full value; but, as President Roosevelt, in his Indianapolis speech, and the Supreme Court have in effect pointed out, the value of the railroad as a going concern, including its good will, due to efficiency of service and many other circumstances, may be much greater than the value of its tangible property, and it is the former that measures the investment on which a fair profit must be allowed. Then, too, the question what is a fair profit is one involving not only the rate

of interest usually earned on normally safe investments, but also a sufficient allowance to make up for the risk of loss both of capital and interest in the original outlay. These considerations will have justified the company in imposing charges high enough to secure a fair income on the enterprise as a whole. The securities at market prices will have passed into the hands of subsequent purchasers from the original investors. Such circumstances should properly affect the decision of the tribunal engaged in determining whether the totality of rates charged is reasonable or excessive. To ignore them might so seriously and unjustly impair settled values as to destroy all hope of restoring confidence and forever to end the inducement for investment in new railroad construction which, in returning prosperous times, is sure to be essential to our material progress. As Mr. Roosevelt has said in speaking of this very subject:

"The effect of such valuation and supervision of securities can not be retroactive. Existing securities should be tested by laws in existence at the time of their issue. This Nation would no more injure securities which have become an important part of the National wealth than it would consider a proposition to repudiate the National debt."

The question of rates and the treatment of railways is one that has two sides. The shippers are certainly entitled to reasonable rates; but less is an injustice to the carriers. Good business for the railroads is essential to general prosperity. Injustice to them is not alone injustice to stockholders and capitalists, whose further investments may be necessary for the good of the whole country, but it directly affects and reduces the wages of railway employees, and indeed may deprive them of their places entirely.

From what has been said, the proper conclusion would seem to be that in attempting to determine whether the entire schedule of rates of a railway is excessive, the physical valuation of the road is a relevant and important but not necessarily a controlling factor.

Physical Valuation Properly Used Will Not Generally Impair Securities.

I am confident that the fixing of rates on the principles suggested above would not materially impair the present market values of railroad securities in most cases, for I believe that the normal increase in the value of railroad properties, especially in their terminals, will more than make up for the possible overcapitalization in earlier years. In some cases, doubtless, it will be found that overcapitalization is made an excuse for excessive rates, and then they should be reduced; but the consensus of opinion seems to be that the railroad rates generally in this country are reasonably low. This is

why, doubtless, the complaints filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission against excessive rates are so few as compared with those against unlawful discrimination in rates between shippers and between places. Of course, in the determination of the question whether discrimination is unlawful or not, the physical valuation of the whole road is of little weight.

Conclusion That There Should Be Physical Valuation.

I have discussed this, with some degree of detail, merely to point out that the valuation by the Interstate Commerce Commission of the tangible property of a railroad is proper and may from time to time be necessary in settling certain issues which may come before them, and that no evil or injustice can come from valuation in such cases, if it be understood that the result is to be used for a just purpose, and the right to a fair profit under all the circumstances of the investment is recognized. The Interstate Commerce Commission has now the power to ascertain the value of the physical railroad property, if necessary, in determining the reasonableness of rates. If the machinery for doing so is not adequate, as is probable, it should be made so.

The Republican platform recommends legislation forbidding the issue in the future of interstate railway stocks and bonds without Federal authority. It may occur in such cases that the full value of the railway, and, as an element thereof, the value of the tangible property of the railway, would be a relevant and important factor in assisting the proper authority to determine whether the stocks and bonds to be issued were to have proper security behind them, and in such case, therefore, there should be the right and machinery to make a valuation of the physical property.

National Control of Interstate Commerce Corporations.

Another suggestion in respect to subordinate and ancillary machinery necessary to carry out Republican policies is that of the incorporation under National law or the licensing by National license or enforced registry of companies engaged in interstate trade. The fact is that nearly all corporations doing a commercial business are engaged in interstate commerce, and if they all were required to take out a Federal license or a Federal charter, the burden upon the interstate business of the country would become intolerable.

Should Be Limited to Small Percentage by Classification.

It is necessary, therefore, to devise some means for classifying and insuring Federal supervision of such corporations as have the power and temptation to effect restraints of interstate trade and

monopolies. Such corporations constitute a very small percentage of all engaged in interstate business.

Mr. Roosevelt's Proposed Classification.

With such classification in view, Mr. Roosevelt recommended an amendment to the anti-trust law, known as the Hepburn bill, which provided for voluntary classification, and created a strong motive therefor by granting immunity from prosecution for reasonable restraints of interstate trade to all corporations which would register and submit themselves to the publicity regulations of the Department of Commerce and Labor.

The Democratic Proposed Classification.

The Democratic platform suggests a requirement that corporations in interstate trade having control of 25 per cent. of the products in which they deal shall take out a Federal license. This classification would probably include a great many small corporations engaged in the manufacture of special articles, or commodities whose total value is so inconsiderable that they are not really within the purview or real intent of the anti-trust law.

It is not now necessary, however, to discuss the relative merit of such propositions, but it is enough merely to affirm the necessity for some method by which greater executive supervision can be given to the Federal Government over those businesses in which there is a temptation to violations of the anti-trust law.

Construction of Anti-Trust Law.—Possible Necessity for Amendment.

The possible operation of the anti-trust law under existing rulings of the Supreme Court has given rise to suggestions for its necessary amendment to prevent its application to cases which it is believed were never in the contemplation of the framers of the statute. Take two instances: A merchant or manufacturer engaged in a legitimate business that covers certain States, wishes to sell his business and his good will, and so in the terms of the sale obligates himself to the purchaser not to go into the same business in those States. Such a restraint of trade has always been enforced at common law. Again, the employees of an interstate railway combine and enter upon a peaceable and lawful strike to secure better wages. At common law this was not a restraint of trade or commerce or a violation of the rights of the company or of the public. Neither case ought to be made a violation of the anti-trust law. My own impression is that the Supreme Court would hold that neither of these instances is within its inhibition, but, if they are to be so regarded, general legislation amending the law is necessary.

Democratic Plank to Limit Corporations to Ownership of 50 Per Cent. of Plant and Product Faulty.

The suggestion of the Democratic platform that trusts be ended by forbidding corporations to hold more than 50 per cent. of the plant in any line of manufacture is made without regard to the possibility of enforcement or the real evil in trusts. A corporation controlling 45 or 50 per cent. of the products may by well known methods frequently effect monopoly and stamp out competition in a part of the country as completely as if it controlled 60 or 70 per cent. thereof.

Compulsory Sale of Products at Fixed Price Impractical.

The proposal to compel every corporation to sell its commodities at the same price the country over, allowing for transportation, is utterly impracticable. If it can be shown that in order to drive out competition, a corporation owning a large part of the plant producing an article is selling in one part of the country, where it has competitors, at a low and unprofitable price, and in another part of the country, where it has none, at an exorbitant price, this is evidence that it is attempting an unlawful monopoly, and justifies conviction under the anti-trust law; but the proposal to supervise the business of corporations in such a way as to fix the price of commodities and compel the sale at such price is as absurd and socialistic a plank as was ever inserted in a Democratic political platform.

Difference Between Republican and Democratic Policies and Platforms: Former Progressive and Regulative; Latter Radical and Destructive.

The chief difference between the Republican and the Democratic platforms is the difference which has heretofore been seen between the policies of Mr. Roosevelt and those which have been advocated by the Democratic candidate, Mr. Bryan. Mr. Roosevelt's policies have been progressive and regulative; Mr. Bryan's destructive. Mr. Roosevelt has favored regulation of the business in which evils have grown up so as to stamp out the evils and permit the business to continue. The tendency of Mr. Bryan's proposals has generally been destructive of the business with respect to which he is demanding reform. Mr. Roosevelt would compel the trusts to conduct their business in a lawful manner and secure the benefits of their operation and the maintenance of the prosperity of the country of which they are an important part; while Mr. Bryan would extirpate and destroy the entire business in order to stamp out the evils which they have practiced.

Advantage of Combination of Capital.

The combination of capital in large plants to manufacture goods with the greatest economy is just as necessary as the assembling of the parts of a machine to the economical and more rapid manufacture of what in old times was made by hand. The Government should not interfere with one any more than the other, when such aggregations of capital are legitimate and are properly controlled, for they are then the natural results of modern enterprise and are beneficial to the public. In the proper operation of competition the public will soon share with the manufacturer the advantage in economy of operation and lower prices.

What Is an Unlawful Trust?

When, however, such combinations are not based on any economic principle but are made merely for the purpose of controlling the market, to maintain or raise prices, restrict output and drive out competitors, the public derives no benefit and we have a monopoly. There must be some use by the company of the comparatively great size of its capital and plant and extent of its output, either to coerce persons to buy of it rather than of some competitor or to coerce those who would compete with it to give up their business. There must usually, in other words, be shown an element of duress in the conduct of its business toward the customers in the trade and its competitors before mere aggregation of capital or plant becomes an unlawful monopoly. It is perfectly conceivable that in the interest of economy of production a great number of plants may be legitimately assembled under the ownership of one corporation. It is important, therefore, that such large aggregations of capital and combination should be controlled so that the public may have the advantage of reasonable prices and that the avenues of enterprise may be kept open to the individual and the smaller corporation wishing to engage in business.

Mere Aggregation of Capital Not a Violation of Anti-Trust Law.

In a country like this, where, in good times, there is an enormous floating capital awaiting investment, the period before which effective competition, by construction of new plants, can be introduced into any business, is comparatively short, rarely exceeding a year, and is usually even less than that. Existence of actual plant is not, therefore, necessary to potential competition. Many enterprises have been organized on the theory that mere aggregation of all, or nearly all, existing plants in a line of manufacture, without regard to economy of production, destroys competition. They have, most of them, gone into bankruptcy. Competition in a profitable business

will not be affected by the mere aggregation of many existing plants under one company, unless the company thereby effects great economy, the benefit of which it shares with the public, or takes some illegal method to avoid competition and to perpetuate a hold on the business.

Proper Treatment of Trusts.

Unlawful trusts should be restrained with all the efficiency of injunctive process, and the persons engaged in maintaining them should be punished with all the severity of criminal prosecution, in order that the methods pursued in the operation of their business shall be brought within the law. To destroy them and to eliminate the wealth they represent from the producing capital of the country would entail enormous loss, and would throw out of employment myriads of workingmen and working women. Such a result is wholly unnecessary to the accomplishment of the needed reform, and will inflict upon the innocent far greater punishment than upon the guilty.

Destructive Policy of Democratic Platform.

The Democratic platform does not propose to destroy the plants of the trusts physically, but it proposes to do the same thing in a different way. The business of this country is largely dependent on a protective system of tariffs. The business done by many of the so-called "trusts" is protected with the other businesses of the country. The Democratic platform proposes to take off the tariff on all articles coming into competition with those produced by the so-called "trusts," and to put them on the free list. If such a course would be utterly destructive of their business, as is intended, it would not only destroy the trusts, but all of their smaller competitors. The ruthless and impracticable character of the proposition grows plainer as its effects upon the whole community are realized.

Effect of Democratic Plans on Business.

To take the course suggested by the Democratic platform in these matters is to involve the entire community, innocent as it is, in the punishment of the guilty, while our policy is to stamp out the specific evil. This difference between the policies of the two great parties is of especial importance in view of the present condition of business. After ten years of the most remarkable material development and prosperity, there came a financial stringency, a panic and an industrial depression. This was brought about not only by the enormous expansion of business plants and business investments which could not be readily converted, but also by the waste of capital,

in extravagance of living, in wars and other catastrophes. The free convertible capital was exhausted. In addition to this, the confidence of the lending public in Europe and in this country had been affected by the revelations of irregularity, breaches of trust, over-issues of stock, violations of law, and lack of rigid State or National supervision in the management of our largest corporations. Investors withheld what loanable capital remained available. It became impossible for the soundest railroads and other enterprises to borrow money enough for new construction or reconstruction.

Will Delay Restoration of Prosperity.

Gradually business is acquiring a healthier tone. Gradually all wealth which was hoarded is coming out to be used. Confidence in security of business investments is a plant of slow growth and is absolutely necessary in order that our factories may all open again, in order that our unemployed may become employed, and in order that we may again have the prosperity which blessed us for ten years. The identity of the interests of the capitalist, the farmer, the business man and the wage earner in the security and profit of investments cannot be too greatly emphasized. I submit to those most interested, to wage earners, to farmers and to business men, whether the introduction into power of the Democratic party, with Mr. Bryan at its head, and with the business destruction that it openly advocates as a remedy for present evils, will bring about the needed confidence for the restoration of prosperity.

Republican Doctrine of Protection.

The Republican doctrine of protection, as definitely announced by the Republican convention of this year and by previous conventions, is that a tariff shall be imposed on all imported products, whether of the factory, farm or mine, sufficiently great to equal the difference between the cost of production abroad and at home, and that this difference should, of course, include the difference between the higher wages paid in this country and the wages paid abroad and embrace a reasonable profit to the American producer. A system of protection thus adopted and put in force has led to the establishment of a rate of wages here that has greatly enhanced the standard of living of the laboring man. It is the policy of the Republican party permanently to continue that standard of living. In 1897 the Dingley Tariff Bill was passed, under which we have had, as already said, a period of enormous prosperity.

Necessity for Revision of Tariff.

The consequent material development has greatly changed the conditions under which many articles described by the schedules

of the tariff are now produced. The tariff in a number of the schedules exceeds the difference between the cost of production of such articles abroad and at home, including a reasonable profit to the American producer. The excess over that difference serves no useful purpose, but offers a temptation to those who would monopolize the production and the sale of such articles in this country, to profit by the excessive rate. On the other hand, there are some few other schedules in which the tariff is not sufficiently high to give the measure of protection which they should receive upon Republican principles, and as to those the tariff should be raised. A revision of the tariff undertaken upon this principle, which is at the basis of our present business system, begun promptly upon the incoming of the new administration, and considered at a special session with the preliminary investigations already begun by the appropriate committees of the House and Senate, will make the disturbance of business incident to such a change as little as possible.

Democratic Tariff Plan and Its Bad Effect on Business Conditions.

The Democratic party in its platform has not had the courage of its previous convictions on the subject of the tariff, denounced by it in 1904 as a system of the robbery of the many for the benefit of the few, but it does declare its intention to change the tariff with a view to reaching a revenue basis and thus to depart from the protective system. The introduction into power of a party with this avowed purpose cannot but halt the gradual recovery from our recent financial depression and produce business disaster compared with which our recent panic and depression will seem small indeed.

The Farmer and the Republican Party.

As the Republican platform says, the welfare of the farmer is vital to that of the whole country. One of the strongest hopes of returning prosperity is based on the business which his crops are to afford. He is vitally interested in the restraining of excessive and unduly discriminating railroad rates, in the enforcement of the pure food laws, in the promotion of scientific agriculture, and in increasing the comforts of country life, as by the extension of free Rural Delivery. The policies of the present Administration, which have most industriously promoted all these objects, cannot fail to commend themselves to his approval; and it is difficult to see how with his intelligent appreciation of the threat to business prosperity involved in Democratic success at the polls he can do otherwise than give his full and hearty support to the continuation of the policies of the present Administration under Republican auspices.

Labor and What the Republican Party Has Done for It.

We come now to the question of labor. One important phase of the policies of the present Administration has been an anxiety to secure for the wage earner an equality of opportunity and such positive statutory protection as shall place him on a level in dealing with his employer. The Republican party has passed an employers' liability act for interstate railroads, and has established an eight hour law for government employees and on government construction. The essence of the reform effected by the former is the abolition of the fellow-servant rule, and the introduction of the comparative negligence theory by which an employee injured in the service of his employer does not lose all his right to recover because of slight negligence on his part. Then there is the act providing for compensation for injury to government employees, together with the various statutes requiring safety appliances upon interstate commerce railroads for the protection of their employees, and limiting the hours of their employment. These are all instances of the desire of the Republican party to do justice to the wage earner. Doubtless a more comprehensive measure for compensation of government employees will be adopted in the future; the principle in such cases has been recognized, and in the necessarily somewhat slow course of legislation will be more fully embodied in definite statutes.

Interest of Employer and Employee Only Differ in Respect to Terms of Employment.

The interests of the employer and the employee never differ except when it comes to a division of the joint profit of labor and capital into dividends and wages. This must be a constant source of periodical discussion between the employer and the employee, as indeed are the other terms of the employment.

Advantage of Union.

To give to employees their proper position in such a controversy, to enable them to maintain themselves against employers having great capital, they may well unite, because in union there is strength and without it each individual laborer and employee would be helpless. The promotion of industrial peace through the instrumentality of the trade agreement is often one of the results of such union when intelligently conducted.

Other Labor.

There is a large body of laborers, however, skilled and unskilled, who are not organized into unions. Their rights before the law are exactly the same as those of the union men, and are to be protected with the same care and watchfulness.

Rights of Labor.

In order to induce their employer into a compliance with their request for changed terms of employment, workmen have the right to strike in a body. They have a right to use such persuasion as they may, provided it does not reach the point of duress, to lead their reluctant co-laborers to join them in their union against their employer, and they have a right, if they choose, to accumulate funds to support those engaged in a strike, to delegate to officers the power to direct the action of the union, and to withdraw themselves and their associates from dealings with, or giving custom to those with whom they are in controversy.

What Labor Can Not Lawfully Do.

What they have not the right to do is to injure their employer's property, to injure their employer's business by use of threats or methods of physical duress against those who would work for him, or deal with him, or by carrying on what is sometimes known as a secondary boycott against his customers or those with whom he deals in business. All those who sympathize with them may unite to aid them in their struggle, but they may not through the instrumentality of a threatened or actual boycott compel third persons against their will and having no interest in their controversy to come to their assistance. These principles have for a great many years been settled by the courts of this country.

Threatened unlawful injuries to business, like those described above, can only be adequately remedied by an injunction to prevent them. The jurisdiction of a court of equity to enjoin in such cases arises from the character of the injury and the method of inflicting it and the fact that suit for damages offers no adequate remedy. The unlawful injury is not usually done by one single act, which might be adequately compensated for in damages by a suit at law, but it is the result of a constantly recurring series of acts, each of which in itself might not constitute a substantial injury or make a suit at law worth while, and all of which would require a multiplicity of suits at law. Injuries of this class have since the foundation of courts of equity been prevented by injunction.

It has been claimed that injunctions do not issue to protect anything but property rights, and that business is not a property right; but such a proposition is wholly inconsistent with all the decisions of the courts. The Supreme Court of the United States says that the injunction is a remedy to protect property or rights of a pecuniary nature, and we may well submit to the considerate judgment of all laymen whether the right of a man in his business is not as dis-

tinctly a right of a pecuniary nature as the right to his horse or his house or the stock of goods on his shelf; and the instances in which injunctions to protect business have been upheld by all courts are so many that it is futile further to discuss the proposition.

It is difficult to tell the meaning of the Democratic platform upon this subject. It says:

"Questions of judicial practice have arisen especially in connection with industrial disputes. We deem that the parties to all judicial proceedings should be treated with rigid impartiality, and that injunctions should not be issued in any cases in which injunctions would not issue if no industrial dispute were involved."

This declaration is disingenuous. It seems to have been loosely drawn with the especial purpose of rendering it susceptible to one interpretation by one set of men and to a diametrically opposite interpretation by another. It does not aver that injunctions should not issue in industrial disputes, but only that they should not issue merely because they are industrial disputes, and yet those responsible for the declaration must have known that no one has ever maintained that the fact that a dispute was industrial gave any basis for issuing an injunction in reference thereto.

The declaration seems to be drawn in its present vague and ambiguous shape in order to persuade some people that it is a declaration against the issuing of injunctions in any industrial dispute, while at the same time it may be possible to explain to the average plain citizen who objects to class distinctions that no such intention exists at all. Our position is clear and unequivocal. We are anxious to prevent even an appearance of any injustice to labor in the issuance of injunctions, not in a spirit of favoritism to one set of our fellow citizens, but of justice to all of our fellow citizens. The reason for exercising or refusing to exercise the power of injunction must be found in the character of the unlawful injury and not in the character or class of the persons who inflict this injury.

The man who has a business which is being unlawfully injured is entitled to the remedies which the law has always given him, no matter who has inflicted the injuries. Otherwise, we shall have class legislation unjust in principle and likely to sap the foundations of a free government.

Notice and Hearing Before Issue of Injunction.

I come now to the question of notice before issuing an injunction. It is a fundamental rule of general jurisprudence that no man shall be affected by a judicial proceeding without notice and hearing. This rule, however, has sometimes had an exception in the issuing of temporary restraining orders commanding a defendant in effect

to maintain the *status quo* until a hearing. Such a process should issue only in rare cases where the threatened change of the *status quo* would inflict irreparable injury if time were taken to give notice and a summary hearing. The unlawful injury usual in industrial disputes, such as I have described, does not become formidable except after sufficient time in which to give the defendants notice and a hearing. I do not mean to say that there may not be cases even in industrial disputes where a restraining order might properly be issued without notice, but, generally, I think it is otherwise. In some State courts, and in fewer Federal courts, the practice of issuing a temporary restraining order without notice merely to preserve the *status quo* on the theory that it won't hurt anybody, has been too common. Many of us recall that the practice has been pursued in other than industrial disputes, as, for instance, in corporate and stock controversies like those over the Erie Railroad, in which a stay order without notice was regarded as a step of great advantage to the one who secured it, and a corresponding disadvantage to the one against whom it was secured. Indeed, the chances of doing injustice on an *ex parte* application are much increased over those when a hearing is granted, and there may be circumstances under which it may affect the defendant to his detriment. In the case of a lawful strike, the sending of a formidable document restraining a number of defendants from doing a great many different things which the plaintiff avers they are threatening to do, often so discourages men always reluctant to go into a strike from continuing what is their lawful right. This has made the laboring man feel that an injustice is done in the issuing of a writ without notice. I conceive that in the treatment of this question it is the duty of the citizen and the legislator to view the subject from the standpoint of the man who believes himself to be unjustly treated, as well as from that of the community at large. I have suggested the remedy of returning in such cases to the original practice under the old statute of the United States and the rules in equity adopted by the Supreme Court, which did not permit the issuing of an injunction without notice. In this respect, the Republican Convention has adopted another remedy, that, without going so far, promises to be efficacious in securing proper consideration in such cases by courts, by formulating into a legislative act the best present practice.

Under this recommendation, a statute may be framed which shall define with considerable particularity, and emphasize the exceptional character of the cases in which restraining orders may issue without notice, and which shall also provide that when they are issued, they shall cease to be operative beyond a short period, during which time

notice shall be served and a hearing had unless the defendant desires a postponement of the hearing. By this provision the injustice which has sometimes occurred by which a preliminary restraining order of widest application has been issued without notice, and the hearing of the motion for the injunction has been fixed weeks and months after its date, could not recur.

Small Number of Cases Furnishing Grounds for Complaint in Federal Court.

The number of instances in which restraining orders without notice in industrial disputes have issued by Federal courts is small, and it is urged that they do not therefore constitute an evil to be remedied by statutory amendment. The small number of cases complained of above shows the careful manner in which most Federal judges have exercised the jurisdiction, but the belief that such cases are numerous has been so widespread and has aroused such feeling of injustice that more definite specification in procedure to prevent recurrence of them is justified if it can be effected without injury to the administration of the law.

No Provision in Democratic Platform as to Notice; Only Recommendation Trial by Jury.

With respect to notice, the Democratic platform contains no recommendation. Its only intelligible declaration in regard to injunction suits is a reiteration of the plank in the platform of 1896 and 1904 providing that in prosecutions for contempt in Federal courts, where the violation of the order constituting the contempt charged is indirect, i. e., outside of the presence of the court, there shall be a jury trial.

Dangerous Attack on Power of Courts.

This provision in the platform of 1896 was regarded then as a most dangerous attack upon the power of the courts to enforce their orders and decrees, and it was one of the chief reasons for the defeat of the Democratic party in that contest, as it ought to have been. The extended operation of such a provision to weaken the power of the courts in the enforcement of its lawful orders can hardly be overstated.

Effect of Jury Trial.

Under such a provision a recalcitrant witness who refuses to obey a subpoena may insist on a jury trial before the court can determine that he received the subpoena. A citizen summoned as a juror and refusing to obey the writ when brought into court must

be tried by another jury to determine whether he got the summons. Such a provision applies not alone to injunctions, but to every order which the court issues against persons. A suit may be tried in the court of first instance and carried to the Court of Appeals, and thence to the Supreme Court, and a judgment and decree entered and an order issued, and then if the decree involves the defendant's doing anything or not doing anything, and he disobeys it, the plaintiff who has pursued his remedies in lawful course for years must, to secure his rights, undergo the uncertainties and the delays of a jury trial before he can enjoy that which is his right by the decision of the highest court of the land. I say without hesitation that such a change will greatly impair the indispensable power and authority of the courts. In securing to the public the benefits of the new statutes enacted in the present Administration, the ultimate instrumentality to be resorted to is the courts of the United States. If now their authority is to be weakened in a manner never known in the history of the jurisprudence of England or America, except in the constitution of Oklahoma, how can we expect that such statutes will have efficient enforcement? Those who advocate this intervention of a jury in such cases seem to suppose that this change in some way will inure only to the benefit of the poor working man. As a matter of fact, the person who will secure chief advantage from it is the wealthy and unscrupulous defendant, able to employ astute and cunning counsel and anxious to avoid justice.

I have been willing, in order to avoid a popular but unfounded impression that a judge, in punishing for contempt of his own order, may be affected by personal feeling, to approve a law which should enable the contemnor upon his application to have another judge sit to hear the charge of contempt, but this, with so many judges as there are available in the Federal court, would not constitute a delay in the enforcement of the process. The character and efficiency of the trial would be the same. It is the nature and the delay of a jury trial in such cases that those who would wish to defy the order of the court would rely upon as a reason for doing so.

Maintenance of Full Power of Courts Necessary to Avoid Anarchy.

The administration of justice lies at the foundation of government. The maintenance of the authority of the courts is essential unless we are prepared to embrace anarchy. Never in the history of the country has there been such an insidious attack upon the judicial system as the proposal to interject a jury trial between all orders of the court made after full hearing and the enforcement of such orders.

The Currency System.

The late panic disclosed a lack of elasticity in our financial system. This has been provisionally met by an act of the present Congress permitting the issue of additional emergency bank notes, and insuring their withdrawal when the emergency has passed by a high rate of taxation. It is drawn in conformity with the present system of bank note currency, but varies from it in certain respects by authorizing the use of commercial paper and bonds of good credit, as well as United States bonds, as security for its redemption. It is expressly but a temporary measure and contains a provision for the appointment of a currency commission to devise and recommend a new and reformed system of currency. This inadequacy of our present currency system, due to changed conditions and enormous expansion, is generally recognized. The Republican platform well states that we must have a "more elastic and adaptable system to meet the requirements of agriculturists, manufacturers, merchants and business men generally, must be automatic in operation, recognizing the fluctuations in interest rates," in which every dollar shall be as good as gold, and which shall prevent rather than aid financial stringency in bringing on a panic.

Postal Savings Bank and Its Advantages.

In addition to this, the Republican platform recommends the adoption of a postal savings bank system in which, of course, the Government would become responsible to the depositors for the payment of principal and interest. It is thought that the Government guaranty will bring out of hoarding places much money which may be turned into wealth producing capital, and that it will be a great incentive for thrift in the many small places in the country having now no savings bank facilities which are reached by the Post Office Department. It will bring to every one, however remote from financial centers, a place of perfect safety for deposits, with interest return. The bill now pending in Congress, which of course the Republican Convention had in mind, provides for the investment of the money deposited in National banks in the very places in which it is gathered, or as near thereto as may be practicable. This is an answer to the criticism contained in the Democratic platform that under the system the money gathered in the country will be deposited in Wall Street banks. The system of postal savings banks has been tried in so many countries successfully that it cannot be regarded longer as a new and untried experiment.

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Objections to Democratic Proposal to Enforce Insurance of Bank Deposits.

The Democratic platform recommends a tax upon National banks and upon such State banks as may come in, in the nature of enforced insurance to raise a guaranty fund to pay the depositors of any bank which fails. How State banks can be included in such a scheme under the constitution is left in the twilight zone of States rights and Federalism so frequently dimming the meaning and purpose of the promises of the platform. If they come in under such a system, they must necessarily be brought within the closest National control, and so they must really cease to be State banks and become National banks.

The proposition is to tax the honest and prudent banker to make up for the dishonesty and imprudence of others. No one can foresee the burden which under this system would be imposed upon the sound and conservative bankers of the country by this obligation to make good the losses caused by the reckless, speculative and dishonest men who would be enabled to secure deposits under such a system on the faith of the proposed insurance; as in its present shape, the proposal would remove all safeguards against recklessness in banking, and the chief, and in the end probably the only, benefit would accrue to the speculator, who would be delighted to enter the banking business when it was certain that he could enjoy any profit that would accrue, while the risk would have to be assumed by his honest and hard-working fellow. In short, the proposal is wholly impracticable unless it is to be accompanied by a complete revolution in our banking system, with a supervision so close as practically to create a government bank. If the proposal were adopted exactly as the Democratic platform suggests, it would bring the whole banking system of the country down in ruin, and this proposal is itself an excellent illustration of the fitness for national control of a party which will commit itself to a scheme of this nature without the slightest sense of responsibility for the practical operation of the law proposed.

Postal Savings Banks Much to Be Preferred.

The Democratic party announces its adhesion to this plan, and only recommends the tried system of postal savings banks as an alternative if the new experimental panacea is not available. The Republican party prefers the postal savings bank as one tried, safe, and known to be effective, and as reaching many more people now without banking facilities than the new system proposed.

Voluntary Plan for Guaranty.

A plan for a guaranty of deposits by the voluntary act of the banks involved has been favorably reported to the House of Representatives. This is, of course, entirely different from the scheme in the Democratic platform, omitting, as it does, the feature of compulsory participation. This proposition will unquestionably receive the thoughtful consideration of the National Monetary Commission.

Republican Policies as to Dependencies.

The Republican party has pursued consistently the policy originally adopted with respect to the dependencies which came to us as the result of the Spanish war.

Porto Rico.

The material prosperity of Porto Rico and the progress of its inhabitants toward better conditions in respect to comfort of living and education, should make every American proud that this nation has been an efficient instrument in bringing happiness to a million people.

Cuba.

In Cuba, the provisional government established in order to prevent a bloody revolution has so administered affairs and initiated the necessary laws as to make it possible to turn back the island to the lawfully elected officers of the Republic in February next.

Philippines.

In the Philippines the experiment of a national assembly has justified itself, both as an assistance in the government of the islands and as an education in the practice of self-government to the people of the islands. We have established a government with effective and honest executive departments, and a clean and fearless administration of justice; we have created and are maintaining a comprehensive school system which is educating the youth of the islands in English and in industrial branches; we have constructed great government public works, roads and harbors; we have induced the private construction of eight hundred miles of railroad; we have policed the islands so that their condition as to law and order is better now than it has ever been in their history. It is quite unlikely that the people, because of the dense ignorance of 90 per cent., will be ready for complete self-government and independence before two generations have passed, but the policy of increasing partial self-government step by step as the people shall show themselves fit for it should be continued.

Proposition of Democratic Platform Means Chaos.

The proposition of the Democratic platform is to turn over the islands as soon as a stable government is established. This has been established. The proposal, then, is in effect to turn them over at once. Such action will lead to ultimate chaos in the islands and the progress among the ignorant masses in education and better living will stop. We are engaged in the Philippines in a great missionary

work that does our nation honor, and is certain to promote in a most effective way the influence of Christian civilization. It is cowardly to lay down the burden until our purpose is achieved.

Hope of Prosperity in Change in Tariff Recommended by Republican Platform.

Many unfortunate circumstances beyond human control have delayed the coming of business prosperity to the islands. Much may be done in this regard by increasing the trade between the islands and the United States, under tariff laws permitting reciprocal free trade in the respective products of the two countries, with such limitations as to sugar and tobacco imported into the United States as will protect domestic interests. The admission of 350,000 tons of sugar from the Philippine Islands in a foreign importation of 1,600,000 tons, will have no effect whatever upon the domestic sugar interests of the United States, and yet such an importation from the Philippine Islands, not likely to be reached in ten years, will bring about the normal state of prosperity in these islands in reference to sugar culture.

The same thing is true of a similar limitation on the importation of tobacco. It is not well for the Philippines to develop the sugar industry to such a point that the business of the islands shall be absorbed in it, because it makes a society in which there are wealthy landowners, holding very large estates, with valuable and expensive plants, and a large population of unskilled labor. In such a community there is no farming or middle class tending to build up a conservative, self-respecting community, capable of self-government. There are many other products, notably that of Manila hemp, to which the energy of the islands can be, and is being, directed, the cultivation of which develops the class of small and intelligent farmers.

Misconception as to Annual Cost of Philippines.

One misconception of fact with respect to our Philippine policy is that it is costing the people of the United States a vast annual sum. The expenses of the war in the Philippines from 1898 to 1902 involved the Government in an expenditure of less than \$175,000,000. This was incident to war. The fact is that since the close of the war in 1902 and the restoration of order in the islands, the extra cost of the American troops of the regular army in the islands, together with that of maintaining about 4,000 Philippine scouts as a part of the regular army, does not exceed \$6,000,000 annually. This is all the expense to which the United States has been put for five or six years last past. The expenses of the Civil Government in the

islands since its establishment have been met entirely from the proceeds of taxes collected in the islands, with but one notably generous and commendable exception when the Congress of the United States appropriated \$3,000,000 in 1902 to relieve the inhabitants of the islands from the dangers of famine and distress caused by the death from rinderpest of three-fourths of the cattle of the islands.

Veterans of Country's Wars.

Both platforms declare, as they should, in favor of generous pensions for the veterans of the Civil and Spanish wars. I step to note the presence here of a body of veterans of Ohio, and to express my thanks for the honor they do me in coming. I am lacking in one qualification of all Republican Presidents since Lincoln, that of having been exposed to danger and death on the field of battle in defense of our country. I hope this lack will not make the veterans think I am any less deeply thrilled by the memory of their great comrades gone before—Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Harrison and McKinley, all sons of Ohio, who left records reflecting glory upon their State and Nation, or that my sympathies with the valor and courage and patriotism of those who faced death in the country's crises are any less earnest and sincere than they would be had I the right to wear a button of the Grand Army or of the veteran association of any of our country's wars.

The Rights and Progress of the Negro.

The Republican platform refers to the amendments to the Constitution that were passed by the Republican party for the protection of the negro. The negro, in the forty years since he was freed from slavery, has made remarkable progress. He is becoming a more and more valuable member of the communities in which he lives. The education of the negro is being expanded and improved in every way. The best men of both races, at the North as well as at the South, ought to rejoice to see growing up among the Southern people an influential element disposed to encourage the negro in his hard struggle for industrial independence and assured political status. The Republican platform, adopted at Chicago, explicitly demands justice for all men without regard to race or color, and just as explicitly declares for the enforcement, and without reservation, in letter and spirit of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. It is needless to state that I stand with my party squarely on that plank in the platform, and believe that equal justice to all men, and the fair and impartial enforcement of these amendments is in keeping with the real American spirit of fair play.

Army and Navy.

Mr. McKinley and Mr. Roosevelt, and the Republican party, have constantly advocated a policy with respect to the Army and Navy that will keep this Republic ready at all times to defend her territory and her doctrines, and to assure her appropriate part in promoting permanent tranquillity among the nations. I welcome from whatever motive the change in the Democratic attitude toward the maintenance and support of an adequate Navy, and hope that in the next platform the silence of the present platform, in respect to the Army, will be changed to an acquiescence in its maintenance to the point of efficiency in connection with the efficiently reorganized militia and the National volunteers, for the proper defense of the country in times of war, and the discharge of those duties in times of peace for which the Army, as at present constituted, has shown itself so admirably adapted in the Philippines, in San Francisco, in Cuba, and elsewhere. We are a world power and cannot help it, and, although at peace with all the world and secure in the consciousness that the American people do not desire and will not provoke a war with any other country, we must be prudent and not be lulled into a sense of security which would possibly expose us to national humiliation. Our best course therefore is to insist on a constant improvement in our navy and its maintenance at the highest point of efficiency.

Protection of Citizens Abroad.

The position which our country has won under Republican administrations before the world should inure to the benefit of every one, even the humblest of those entitled to look to the American flag for protection, without regard to race, creed or color, and whether he is a citizen of the United States or of any of our dependencies. In some countries with which we are on friendly terms, distinctions are made in respect to the treatment of our citizens traveling abroad and having passports of our Executive, based on considerations that are repugnant to the principles of our Government and civilization. The Republican party and administration will continue to make every proper endeavor to secure the abolition of such distinctions, which in our eyes are both needless and opprobrious.

Asiatic Immigration.

In the matter of the limitation upon Asiatic immigration, referred to in the Democratic platform, it is sufficient to say that the present Republican Administration has shown itself able, by diplomatic negotiation, and without unnecessary friction with self-re-

specting governments, to minimize the evils suggested, and a subsequent Republican Administration may be counted on to continue the same policy.

Conservation of National Resources.

The conservation of National resources is a subject to which the present Admininstration has given especial attention. The necessity for a comprehensive and systematic improvement of our waterways, the preservation of our soil, and of our forests, the securing from private appropriation the power in navigable streams, the retention of the undisposed of coal lands of the Government from alienation, all will properly claim from the next Administration earnest attention and appropriate legislation.

National Health Bureau.

I have long been of opinion that the various agencies of the National Government established for the preservation of the National health, scattered through several departments, should be rendered more efficient by uniting them in a bureau of the Government under a competent head, and that I understand to be, in effect, the recommendation of both parties.

Publicity of Campaign Contributions and Expenditures.

Another plank of the Democratic platform refers to the failure of the Republican Convention to express an opinion in favor of the publicity of contributions received and expenditures made in elections. Here again we contrast our opponents' promises with our own acts. Great improvement has taken place under Republican auspices in respect to the collection and expenditure of money for this purpose. The old and pernicious system of levying a tax on the salaries of Government employees in order to pay the expenses of the party in control of the Administration has been abolished by statute. By a law passed by the Republican Congress in 1907, contributions from corporations to influence or pay the expenses connected with the election of presidential electors or of members of Congress is forbidden under penalty.

A resident of New York has been selected as treasurer of the Republican National Committee, who was treasurer of the Republican State Committee when Governor Hughes was elected in New York, and who made a complete statement within twenty days after the election, as required by the New York law, of the contributions received by him and the expenditures made by him or under his authority in connection with that election. His residence and the

discharge of his duties in the State of New York subject him to the law of that State as to all receipts of the treasury of the National Committee from whatever source and as to all its disbursements. His returns will be under the obligations and penalties of the law, and a misstatement by him or the filing of a false account will subject him to prosecution for perjury and violation of the statute. Of course, under the Federal law, he is not permitted to receive any contributions from corporations.

If I am elected President, I shall urge upon Congress, with every hope of success, that a law be passed requiring a filing in a Federal office of a statement of the contributions received by committees and candidates in elections for members of Congress, and in such other elections as are constitutionally within the control of Congress. Meantime the Republican party by the selection of a New York treasurer has subjected all its receipts and expenditures to the compulsory obligation of such a law.

Income Tax.

The Democratic platform demands two constitutional amendments, one providing for an income tax, and the other for the election of Senators by the people. In my judgment, an amendment to the Constitution for an income tax is not necessary. I believe that an income tax, when the protective system of customs and the internal revenue tax shall not furnish income enough for governmental needs, can and should be devised which under the decisions of the Supreme Court will conform to the Constitution.

Election of Senators.

With respect to the election of Senators by the people, personally I am inclined to favor it, but it is hardly a party question. A resolution in its favor has passed a Republican House of Representatives several times and has been rejected in a Republican Senate by the votes of Senators from both parties. It has been approved by the Legislatures of many Republican States. In a number of States, both Democratic and Republican, substantially such a system now prevails.

Inaccuracy and Insincerity of Democratic Charges of Extravagance in Increase of Offices and Expenditures.

Our opponents denounce the Republican party for increasing the number of offices 23,000, at a cost of sixteen millions of dollars, during the last year. Such denunciation is characteristic of the Democratic platform. It fails to specify in any way what the

offices are, and leaves the inference that the increase was resisted by the representatives of Democracy in Congress. As a matter of fact, the net number of offices increased was just about half the number stated; the increase was due chiefly to the enlargement of the Navy, the construction of the Panama Canal, the extension of the Rural Free Delivery, and to the new offices necessary in the enforcement of the pure food, meat inspection, railroad rate regulation, arid land reclamation, forest preservation and other measures which Congress passed with almost unanimous popular approval. The Democratic platform, so far from attacking any of this legislation, specifically approves much and condemns none of it, and it is of course disingenuous to claim credit for approving legislation and yet to denounce the expenditures necessary to give it effect.

Charge of Deficit.

Again, it charges that a deficit of sixty millions of dollars between the receipts and expenditures during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1908, occurred. As explained by the Secretary of the Treasury, at least half of this deficit is only an apparent one. The falling off in receipts was, of course, occasioned by the unusual panic, but there is ample free money in the Treasury to meet the difference, and the difference itself is not half of it properly a deficit, because involved in it was the retirement of some thirty-three millions of the bonds of the Government.

During the past seven years the income and expenditures of the Government have been nearly equal, some years showing a surplus, and others, fewer in number, a deficit. Taking one year with another, including this year, there has been an average surplus. The surplus last year, for instance, was greater than the deficit this year, so that, in fact, under the present administration there has been no deficit but a surplus which is actually in the Treasury.

The Democratic platform nowhere points out the expenditures which might be reduced or avoided. It would be found generally that to the increases which have occurred, Democratic representatives in Congress made no opposition, but rather supported the measures providing them, and now the party has not the courage to indicate what part of government cost it would end. It joins the Republican party specifically in approving the outlay of \$150,000,000 as pensions. It expressly favors also the cost of greatly increased River and Harbor improvements, the cost of doubling the Navy, and of many other enterprises to which it urges the Government. Its attack, therefore, has nothing in it either of fairness or sincerity.

High Character and Efficiency of Administration.

The truth is that it is known of all fair-minded men that there never has been an administration in the Government more efficiently conducted, more free from scandal, and in which the standard of official duty has been set higher than in the present Republican Administration, which the Democratic platform has thus denounced. It has had to meet the problems arising from the enormous expansion of Government functions under new legislative measures as well as in the new dependencies, and in the greatest constructive work of modern times, the Panama Canal, and its members may well feel a just pride in the exceptional record for efficiency, economy, honesty and fidelity which it has made. We may rely upon our record in this regard in an appeal to the American people for their approval.

The foreign policy of this country under the present Administration has greatly contributed to the peace of the world. The important part the Administration took in bringing about an end of the Russian-Japanese War by a treaty honorable to both parties and the prevention of wars in Central America and Cuba are striking instances of this. The arbitration treaties signed with all the important nations of the world mark a great step forward in the development of the usefulness of The Hague tribunal. The visit of Secretary Root to South America emphasized our friendship for our sister Republics which are making such strides in the South Hemisphere, and met with a most cordial and gratifying response from our Latin-American colleagues. The assistance which we are rendering in Santo Domingo to enable that Government to meet its obligations and avoid anarchy is another instance of successful work of this Administration in helping our neighbors.

This Administration has by the promptness, skill and energy of its negotiations secured dominion in the Canal Zone of the Isthmus of Panama, without which the construction of the canal would have been impossible. It has subdued the heretofore insurmountable obstacle of disease and made the place of work healthy. It has created such an organization that in six years certainly, and probably in less, the Atlantic and Pacific will be united, to the everlasting benefit of the world's commerce, and the effectiveness of our Navy will be doubled.

The mere statement of things actually done by this Administration at home, in our dependencies, and in foreign affairs shows a marvel of successful accomplishment, and if ever a party has entitled itself to the approval of its works by a renewed mandate of

power from the people whom it served, it is the Republican party in the present campaign.

The only respect in which nothing has been done is in the development of our foreign marine. As long as we uphold the system of protection for our home industries we must recognize that it is ineffectual to assist those of our citizens engaged in the foreign shipping business, because there is no feasible means of excluding foreign competition, and that the only other method of building up such a business is by direct aid in the form of a mail subsidy. I am in favor of the bill considered in the last Congress as a tentative step. The establishment of direct steamship lines between our Atlantic ports and South America would certainly do much to develop a trade that might be made far greater. On the Pacific, the whole shipping trade threatens to pass into the control of Japan. Something ought to be done, and the bill which failed was a step in the right direction.

Independent Democrats.

The Democratic party under its present leadership in previous campaigns has manifested a willingness to embrace any doctrine which would win votes, with little sense of responsibility for its practical operation. In its striving for success it has ignored the business prosperity of the country, has departed from sound economic and governmental principles, and has reversed its own traditional views of constitutional construction. Patriotic members of the party have refused to be controlled by party ties, and have either refrained from voting or have supported the Republican candidate. May we not appeal to these courageous and independent citizens again to give us their support in this campaign, because the reasons for their breaking the bonds of party are stronger today than ever before?

Length of Speech Made Necessary by Numerous Issues.

I have now reviewed at great length the principles at issue between the two parties. When I began the preparation of this speech of acceptance I had hoped to make it much briefer than it is, but I found on an examination of the platform and on a consideration of the many measures passed during the present Administration and the issues arising out of them, that it was impossible to deal with the subjects comprehensively with proper explanation and qualification in a short discussion. This is my excuse.

Difference Between Parties: Prosperity With Republican Success; Business Disaster With Democratic Victory.

I have pointed out that the attitude of the Republican party with reference to evils which have crept in, due to the enormous material expansion of this country, is to continue the Roosevelt policies of progress and regulation, while the attitude of the Democratic party under its present leadership is the change for the sake of change to the point of irresponsible destruction, and that there is no hope whatever of a restoration of prosperity in returning it to power. As said in our platform, we Republicans go before the country asking the support, not only of those who have acted with us heretofore, but of all our fellow-citizens who, regardless of past political differences, unite in the desire to maintain the policies, perpetuate the blessings and make secure the achievements of a greater America.

Address

of

James S. Sherman

in response to

Notification Speech

at

Utica, N. Y.

August 18, 1908



Address of James S. Sherman

Senator Burrows and Gentlemen of the Notification Committee:

Your chairman, speaking for the committee, has notified me of my nomination by the Republican national convention, held in Chicago in June, as the party's candidate for Vice President. As I chanced to be in Chicago in June, I had an inkling of the convention's action, which was confirmed by a warm-hearted reception tendered me by my neighbors on the occasion of my home-coming on July 2.

In Accord With Mr. Taft

This official notification, however, is welcome and the nomination you tender me is accepted; accepted with a gratitude commensurate with the great honor conferred; accepted with a full appreciation of the obligations which accompany that honor, an honor greater because my name is linked with that of William H. Taft, whom I respect and esteem highly and who approaches the high office of President exceptionally well equipped to discharge the duties and bear the varied and weighty responsibilities of that exalted position. My acceptance could not be made with honor unless I were in full accord with the declaration of principles adopted by the convention. Not only am I in full and complete accord with my party's platform, but I endorse every word of the statement made by Mr. Taft in his address of acceptance when notified of his nomination as the Republican candidate for President.

That speech fully and comprehensively discusses the issues of this campaign as presented by the platforms of the two great parties, so that it is appropriate that my statement should be short. Those not convinced by the presentation of Mr. Taft I could not hope to persuade. It is, however, in conformity with custom that I refer at least briefly to some of the important issues of the campaign.

A Discussion of the Tariff Issue

First, then, let me say that I am a protectionist. I am sufficiently practical to value the utility of a fact higher than the beauty of a theory, and I am a protectionist because experience has demon-

strated that the application of that principle has lifted us as a Nation to a plane of prosperity above that occupied by any other people.

I especially commend that plank of our platform which promises an early revision of tariff schedules. That pledge will be fulfilled in an adjustment based in every particular upon the broad principles of protection for all American interests; alike for labor, for capital, for producers and consumers. The Dingley Bill, when enacted, was well adapted to the then existing conditions. The developments of industrial prosperity in a decade, which in volume and degree have surpassed our most roseate expectations, have so altered conditions that in certain details of schedules they no longer in every particular mete out justice to all. In this readjustment the principle of protection must and will govern; such duties must and will be imposed as will equalize the cost of production at home and abroad and insure a reasonable profit to all American interests. The Republican idea of such a profit embraces not alone the manufacturer, not alone the capital invested, but all engaged in American production, the employer and employed, the artisan, the farmer, the miner and those engaged in transportation and trade; broadly speaking, those engaged in every pursuit and calling which our tariff directly or indirectly affects. During a statutory application of this principle, prosperity has abided with us. When a revenue tariff has been the law, adversity and want have been our portion. Our Democratic brethren, whose memories are as short as their promises are frail, and who have always exhibited a lack of capacity to profit by experience, unmindful of the distress and destruction that arrived and departed with the last Democratic administration, declare in their platform that they favor such "immediate revision of * * * schedules as may be necessary to restore the tariff to a revenue basis." A "revenue basis," a "tariff for revenue only," "ultimate free trade"—all have an identical meaning; that meaning being an assault upon American industries, an attack upon the American wage scale, a lessening demand for the products of American soil and American toil; less work, less pay, less of the necessities and comforts of life. In the light of history, what issue of the campaign so vitally affects American citizens? Experience, that effective teacher—effective save with the one-man power now parading under the title of the Democratic party—has taught the Nation a valuable lesson and the result of the coming November election will once more prove the American people to be apt scholars. What the laborer of the land, skilled and unskilled, desires is the opportunity at all times to exchange his brain and brawn for good pay in good

money. A protective tariff and the gold standard, both now the existing achievements of the Republican party, in spite of Democratic opposition, give the laborer that opportunity.

Enactments for Labor

The Republican party believes in the equality of all men before the law; believes in granting labor's every request that does not seek to accord rights to one man denied to another. Fair-minded labor asks no more, no less, and approves the record of the Republican party because of that party's acts.

I have helped to make my party's record in the enactment of the Eight-Hour Law, the Employers' Liability Act, the statutes to minimize the hazard of railroad employes, the Child Labor Law for the District of Columbia, and other enactments designed especially to improve the conditions of labor. I cannot hope to better state my position on injunctions than by a specific endorsement of Mr. Taft's Cincinnati declaration on that subject. That endorsement I make.

The Colored Race

As a Nation our duty compels that by every constitutional and reasonable means the material and educational condition of the colored race be advanced. This we owe to ourselves as well as to them. As the result of a course of events that can never be reversed, they are a part of our civilization; their prosperity is our prosperity; their debasement would be our misfortune. The Republican party, therefore, will offer every encouragement to the thrift, industry and intelligence that will better their prospect of higher attainment.

Army and Navy and Merchant Marine

I believe in the maintenance of such an army, the upbuilding of such a navy as will be the guarantee of the protection of American citizens and American interests everywhere, and an omen of peace; that at every exposed point we may be so fortified that no power on earth may be tempted to molest us. I believe in the restoration of the American merchant marine and in rendering whatever financial aid may be necessary to accomplish this purpose.

I approve the movement for the conservation of our natural resources; the fostering of friendly foreign relations; the enforcement of our Civil Service Law, and the enactment of such statutes as will more securely and more effectively preserve the public health.

Adherence to Roosevelt Policies

Our platform, as it should do, pledges adherence to the policies of President Roosevelt; promises to continue the work inaugurated during his administration, to insure to persons and property every proper safeguard and all necessary strengthening of administrative methods will be provided to furnish efficient inspection and supervision, and prompt righting of every injustice, discrimination and wrong.

I have not touched upon every plank of our splendid platform, but I reiterate my full and unqualified approval of its every promise.

No Class Legislation

I emphasize as my party's creed and my faith that in legislation and administration favor should be extended to no class, no sect, no race, no section as opposed to another. To foster class hatred, to foster discontent, is un-Republican and un-American. Our party stands on the declaration that all men are created with equal rights and it will have no part in the enactment or execution of any law that does not apply alike to all good American citizens, whatever their calling or wherever they live. It will allow no man in our land to have advantage in law over any other man. It offers no safeguard to capital that is not guaranteed to labor; no protection to the workman that is not insured to his employer. It would offer to each and to both in pursuit of health and happiness and prosperity every possible advantage.

The work that has been given the Republican party to do has been of immense importance. Much of that work has been fully accomplished; some has yet to be completed. Republican declarations once in our platform and no longer there, are omitted because they have become accomplished facts. On the other hand, Democratic declarations have been abandoned because the voters have pronounced them to be unwise and unsafe and unsuited to our times and our country.

The People Rule

"Shall the people rule?" is declared by the Democratic platform and candidate to be "the overshadowing issue * * * now under discussion." It is no issue. Surely the people shall rule, surely the people have ruled; surely the people do rule. No party rules. The party, commissioned by the people, is simply the instrument to execute the people's will, and from that party which does not obey

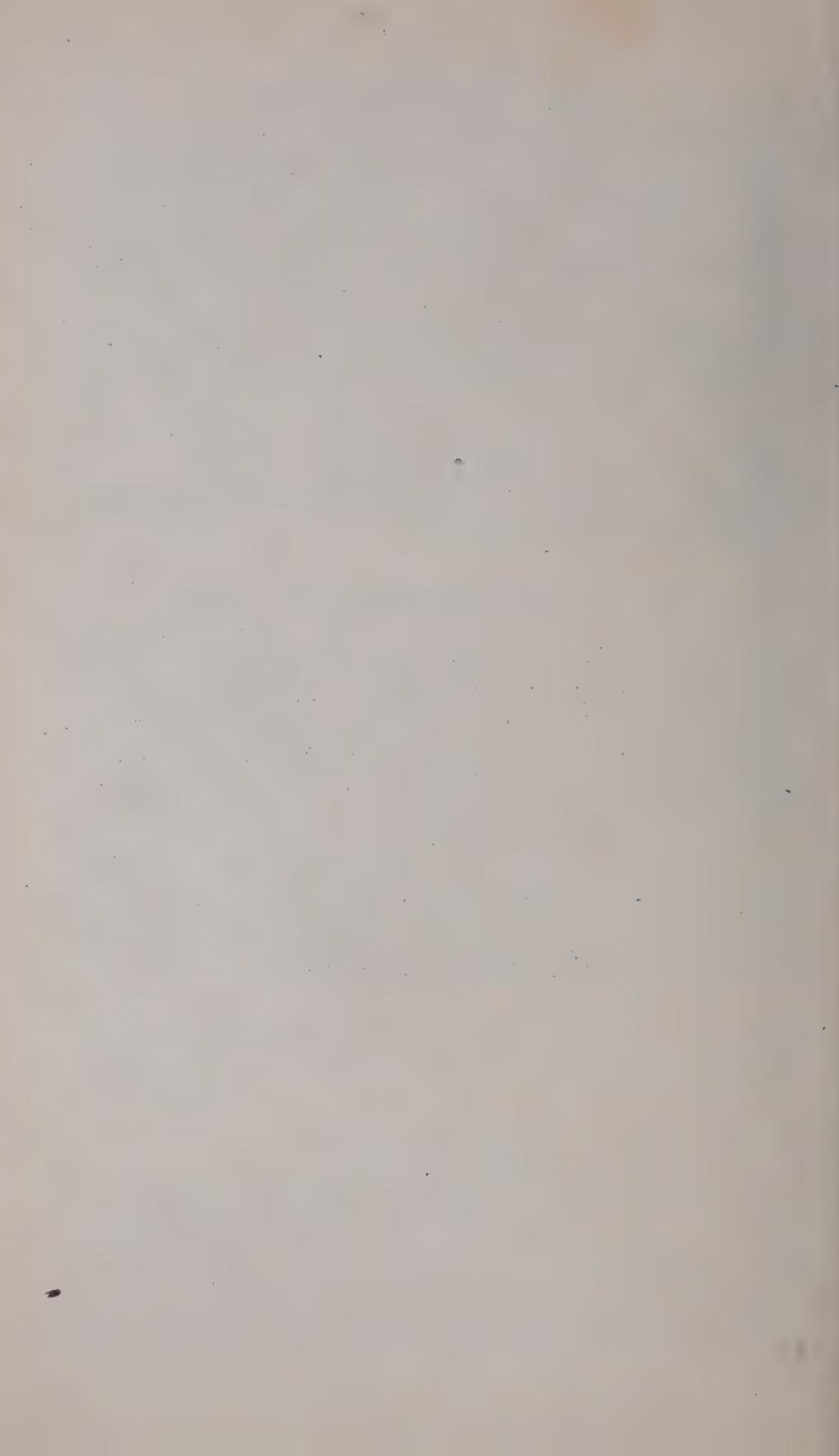
their expressed will, or which lacks the wisdom to lead successfully, the people will withdraw their commission.

For half a century, with but two exceptions, the people have commissioned the Republican party to administer the national Government; commissioned it because its declared principles appealed to their best judgment; commissioned it because the common sense of the American people scented danger in Democratic policies. Ours always has been, always must be, a Government of the people. That party will, after March 4 next, execute old laws and enact new ones as in November it is commissioned by the people to do. That commission will be from an untrammeled American electorate. Shame on the party which, shame on the candidate who, insults the American people by suggestion or declaration that a majority of its electorate is venal. The American voter, with rare exception, in casting his ballot, is guided by his best judgment, by his desire to conserve his own and the public weal.

The Overshadowing Issue and Party Record

The overshadowing issue of the campaign really is: shall the administration of President Roosevelt be approved; shall a party of demonstrated capacity in administrative affairs be continued in power, shall the reins of government be placed in experienced hands, or do the people prefer to trust their destinies to an aggregation of experimental malcontents and theorists, whose only claim to a history is a party name they pilfered.

With a record of four decades of wise legislation; two score years of faithful administration; offering its fulfilled pledges as a guaranty of its promises for the future, the Republican party appeals to the people and, with full confidence in their wisdom and patriotism, awaits the rendition of the November verdict.





Taft's Labor Decisions

Fairness of Republican Candidate's
Judicial Attitude Demonstrated

By FREDERICK N. JUDSON

in *The Review of Reviews*

AND

Judge HOWARD C. HOLLISTER

in *The Green Bag*

LABOR DECISIONS OF JUDGE TAFT.

BY FREDERICK N. JUDSON.

(*From the Review of Reviews, August, 1907.*)

The present Secretary of War, Hon. William Howard Taft, has had the exceptional experience of beginning his distinguished public career with judicial service on the State and thereafter serving on the federal bench. He was justice of the Superior Court of Cincinnati from 1887 to 1890, and among his immediate predecessors in that court were Hon. Judson Harmon, ex-Attorney General of the United States; Hon. Joseph B. Foraker, ex-Governor and now United States Senator. After some two years' service as Solicitor General, under President Harrison, Mr. Taft was appointed judge of the Circuit Court of the United States, holding that position until 1900, when he resigned to accept the appointment of Governor of the Philippines.

It has been intimated from time to time, though not very definitely, that certain decisions of Judge Taft while on the bench were unfriendly to organized labor. Such a suggestion, analyzed in view of the position of the judiciary in our political and judicial system, is really an imputation upon the intelligence of the electorate. A judge does not make the law, nor does he decide cases according to his private judgment of what the law ought to be; but he declares and applies the rules of law to the facts presented as he finds them in the statutes or adjudged precedents, the recorded depositories of the law.

Judges the Oracles of the Law.

It is true that our unwritten and non-statutory law has been termed judge made law. But it is only in a very limited sense, if at all, that this expression is applicable to the case of an individual judge. His personality may be impressed upon the development of the law, as that of Judge Taft was doubtless impressed, by the clearness of his grasp of the fundamental principles of the law in their application to new conditions; but his opinions must be in harmony with the current trend of judicial authority, and, in the last analysis, with the advance of an enlightened public opinion. We have had frequent instances in this country where judges, after leaving the bench, have become candidates for public office, but very rarely have the judicial decisions of a judge ever been discussed with reference to his availability for a public office. The reason is obvious. The high intelligence of our American electorate recognizes that the judges do not speak their individual judgments, but, in the words of Blackstone, "are the living oracles of the law," who declare and apply the laws of the land.

It is to be assumed, therefore, that Judge Taft decided cases involving the rights and duties of labor and capital, as he decided other cases which came before him, according to the law and facts as presented for determination. It has not been intimated that he did not declare the law correctly, or that his decisions were bad law in any legal sense. What, therefore, is really meant by the suggestion is that the *law* as declared in certain decisions of Judge Taft was unsatisfactory to certain class interests. While this impersonal position of a judge is clearly recognized, there is so much public interest in questions relating to the legal rights and duties of combinations, both of capital and labor, that the decisions of Judge Taft in this class of cases should be clearly understood, and therefore will be briefly reviewed from a legal and not from a partisan point of view.

Moores vs. Bricklayers' Union et al.

The first of these opinions was delivered by Judge Taft while on the Superior Court bench of Cincinnati, in 1890, in the case of *Moores vs. Bricklayers' Union et al.* (23 *Weekly Law Bulletin*, 48). This case is interesting as involving the application of the law to what is known as a secondary boycott, that is, a boycott not against an employer but against a third party dealing with an employer, who is a stranger to the controversy between the employer and employee.

This was not an injunction suit, nor did it involve any issue between the employees and their employer, either directly or through any refusal to handle in other places the so-called "struck work" from the shop of the employer. It was a secondary boycott pure and simple, in the form of a suit for damages incurred by the plaintiff through a boycott by the Bricklayers' Union, declared on account of the plaintiff's selling lime to the employer, Parker Bros., who had been boycotted by the union. This primary boycott had been declared against Parker Bros. by the Bricklayers' Union because of their (Parker Bros.') refusal to pay a fine imposed upon one of their employees, a member of the union, and to reinstate a discharged apprentice.

Parker Bros. had brought suit and had recovered damages before a jury in another court against the same defendants on account of this same boycott (21 *Weekly Law Bulletin*, 223). Moore Bros., the plaintiffs, had been awarded \$2,250 damages by the jury on account of this secondary boycott, and it was this judgment which was affirmed on appeal in an opinion by Judge Taft. This case has become a leading one on the law of boycotting. The right of legitimate competition in business with the incidental injuries resulting therefrom, as illustrated in the then recently decided Mogul Steamship case in England, was distinguished by Judge Taft from the case then at bar, where the immediate motive of injuring plaintiff was to inflict punishment for refusing to join in the boycott of a third party. Such a motive made the act malicious and legally actionable in the case of an individual and *a fortiori* in the case of a combination.

Question of the "Secondary Boycott."

It was said, after reviewing the English cases: "We do not conceive that in this State or country a combination by workingmen to raise their wages or obtain any material advantage is contrary to the law, provided they do not use such indirect means as obscure their original intent, and make their combination one merely malicious, to oppress and injure individuals."

It was further said that a labor union could provide for and impose a penalty against any of their members who refused to comply with such regulations as the association made. They could unite in withdrawing from the employ of any person whose terms of employment might not be satisfactory to them, or whose action in regard to apprentices was not to their liking, but they could not coerce their employer by boycotting him and those who dealt with him; that even if acts of this character and with the intent are not actionable when done by individuals, they become so when they are the result of combination, because it is clear that the terrorizing of the community by threats of exclusive dealing in order to deprive one obnoxious member of means of sustenance would become both dangerous and offensive. This decision, subsequently affirmed by the Supreme Court of Ohio without opinion, has been accepted as the correct exposition of the law, and the secondary boycott, so-called, that is, a boycott against a stranger to the trade dispute, has been practically discontinued and abandoned by intelligent labor unionists as an unwise and unreasonable weapon in such controversies.

Toledo and Ann Arbor Engineers' Strike.

The so-called labor decisions of Judge Taft while on the federal bench related directly and primarily to the federal character of such controversies, in that they involved the supremacy of the federal power in the protection of interstate commerce. Though there were only two such cases decided by him, the decisions attracted general attention on account of the widespread industrial disturbances of 1893-4.

The first of these cases was decided April 3, 1893, in the matter of the strike of the engineers on the Toledo and Ann Arbor Railroad (54 Fed. Rep., 730). The engineers on strike were members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, of which P. M. Arthur was the chief. Under the then rule of the brotherhood, known as rule twelve, the engineers in the employ of the connecting railroad companies, members of the brotherhood, refused to handle and deliver any cars of freight from complainant's road as long as the strike of the engineers of that road, who were members of the brotherhood, was unsettled. It is obvious that this involved practically a paralysis of the business of interstate commerce between the complainant and the defendant railroads. The Toledo road thereupon applied for an injunction against the connecting roads, alleging the existence of a combination violative of the Interstate Commerce act, preventing the performance of their duties in regard to interstate commerce in the exchange of traffic, and asked the court to enjoin this unlawful inter-

ference. A motion was filed by the complainant for a temporary injunction against Mr. Arthur to restrain him from enforcing rule twelve, whereunder the employees of the defendant companies were refusing to handle the cars of the complainant company.

The opinion of the court by Judge Taft was notable in its clear exposition of the power of a court of equity in the issuance of a mandatory injunction where necessary to prevent irreparable injury.

Mandatory Injunction to Continue Traffic.

"The normal condition," it was said—"the *status quo*—between connecting common carriers under the Interstate Commerce law is a continuous passage of freight backward and forward between them, which each carrier has a right to enjoy without interruption, exactly as riparian owners have a right to the continuous flow of the stream without obstruction." Usually the *status quo* in the injunction can be preserved until final hearing by an injunction prohibitory in form, but where the *status quo* is not a condition of rest, but of action, the condition of rest, that is, the stoppage of traffic, will inflict irreparable injury not only upon the complainant but the public. In such cases it is only a mandatory injunction compelling the traffic to flow as it is wont to flow, which will protect the complainant from injury. The form of the remedy must be adapted to the emergency, and where the continuity of interstate traffic is threatened an injunction mandatory in term is often the only effective remedy.

Still more important was the opinion in its clear analysis of the position of employees of railroads engaged in interstate traffic, and their rights and duties as such employees under the Interstate Commerce act. The relation of such employees to their railroad companies is one of free contract, and is not analogous to that of seamen in the maritime service, who, to a certain extent, surrender their liberty in their employment and are punishable for desertion. The employment, therefore, in the case of railroad employees, was terminable by either party. The court could not compel the enforcement of personal service as against either the employer or the employed against the will of either. The court said especially was this true in the case of railroad engineers, where nothing but the most painstaking and devoted attention on the part of the employed will secure a proper discharge of his responsible duties; and it would even seem to be against public policy to expose the lives of the travelling public and the property of the shipping public to the danger which might arise from the enforced and unwilling performance of so delicate a service. While a court of equity could not specifically compel the performance of a contract for personal service, it did not follow that there were no limitations upon the right of employees to abandon their employment—that is, as to the time and place of the exercise of such right (see remarks of Supreme Court in Lemon case, 166 U. S.), so as to avoid imperilling life or property.

Engineers' Brotherhood Abrogates Rule 12.

Though the relation of railroad employer and employed was one of free contract, the court also held that while the relation continues they were bound to obey the statute compelling the interchange of interstate traffic, and also bound by the orders of the court enjoining their employer corporation from refusing such interchange. A combination of the employees to refuse, while still holding their positions, to perform any of the duties enjoined by law or by the court upon their employer, would be a conspiracy against the United States and punishable as such.

The court, therefore, held that the mandatory injunction was properly issued against Arthur, compelling him to rescind the order to the engineers in the employ of the defendant directing them not to handle complainant's freight.

The engineers of the defendant companies had no grievances against their own employing companies; and their refusal to handle freight of complainant company was in no sense a strike for the betterment of their own conditions of service, and was therefore not a strike but a boycott, and this would necessarily paralyze the movement of interstate traffic.

The effect of this decision was far-reaching. It was the first judicial declaration of the duties of railroad employees in interstate commerce. It was followed in other circuits and was not only approved by the general public, but was accepted by the railroad brotherhoods as a fair statement of the law under the peculiar conditions of the railroad service. The result was the abrogation of rule twelve by the brotherhood of the engineers, and since that time, as was signally shown in the extensive railroad strike of the following year, the railroad brotherhoods, not only the engineers, but the conductors, firemen and trainmen, have been conspicuous for their conservatism in the adjustment of differences with the management of their respective companies.

The Phelan Contempt Case.

In the following year, 1894, came the great railroad strike inspired by the American Railway Union, growing out of the strike of the Pullman employees at Pullman, Ill. The officials of the union demanded all the railroads to boycott the Pullman cars, and declared a strike of the employees on any railroad on their refusal to declare such a boycott. The Cincinnati Southern, an interstate railway, was in the hands of a receiver, who had been theretofore appointed by the United States Court of Ohio, and the receiver applied to the court for protection against one Phelan, an official of the American Union, who was engaged in inciting a strike among the employees of the railroad. There was no complaint by the employees of this road, as there had been none by the employees in the Arthur case, for the betterment of their condition of service. The demand was that all

traffic should be suspended and business paralyzed until all the roads should consent not to carry Pullman cars. In the words of the court, the purpose was to starve the railroad companies and the public into compelling the Pullman Company to do something which they had no lawful right to compel it to do.

It seems that a restraining order had been issued by the court prohibiting any interference with the management of the receiver in the operation of the road, and Phelan had used language defying this order. He was thereupon attached for contempt, and after a hearing was adjudged guilty of contempt in an opinion by Judge Taft (62 Fed. Rep., 803). The opinion emphasized the same distinction which had been pointed out in the Arthur case in the preceding year. The employees had the right to quit their employment, but they had no right to combine to injure their employer, in order to compel him to withdraw from a mutually profitable relation with a third party for the purpose of injuring the third party, when the relation thus sought to be broken had no effect whatever upon the character or reward of their services. As the purpose of the combination was to tie up interstate railroads, not as an incidental result of a lawful strike for the betterment of the employees' own conditions, but as a means of injuring a third party, it was an unlawful combination, violative of the anti-trust act of 1890. It was also a direct interference with interstate commerce.

Boycott, Not a Strike.

Thus, if Phelan had come to Cincinnati and urged a strike for higher wages, or to prevent lowering of wages, he would not have been liable for contempt, but he had no right to incite the men to quit when they had no grievances of their own to redress, as it was then essentially a boycott and not a strike.

It was in this Phelan case that Judge Taft, in determining the limits of the rights of labor organizations, made this lucid and notable statement of the extent of their rights, which has been frequently quoted:

The employees of the receiver had the right to organize into or join a labor union which would take action as to the terms of their employment. It is a benefit to them and to the public that laborers should unite for their common interest and for lawful purposes. They have labor to sell. If they stand together they are often able, all of them, to obtain better prices for their labor than dealing singly with rich employers, because the necessities of the single employee may compel him to accept any price that is offered. The accumulation of a fund for those who feel that the wages offered are below the legitimate market value of such labor is desirable. They have the right to appoint officers, who shall advise them as to the course to be taken in relations with their employers. They may unite with other unions. The officers they appoint, or any other person they choose to listen to, may advise them as to the proper course to be taken, both in regard to their common employment; or if they choose to appoint any one, he may order them on pain of expulsion from the union peaceably to leave the employ of their employer because any of the terms of the employment are unsatisfactory.

Right of Unions to Organize.

This declaration of the right of organization and representation of labor unions has been often cited and quoted in support of the unions, and was applied, as will be seen, most effectively in their behalf in the Wabash strike of 1903.

The jurisdiction of the United States courts in the protection of interstate commerce, and the supremacy of the federal power in such questions, were thereafter fully sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States (see *in re Debs* case, 158 U. S., 564; also *in re Lemon*, 166 S., 548).

The reason of the prompt acceptance of this application of the law by Judge Taft was the universal recognition that a boycott by railroad employees in interstate commerce, as distinguished from a strike, was impracticable and inadmissible, in view of the paramount public interest concerned. It is true that in ordinary trade disputes the public convenience and even the public necessities are not always given the weight they should have. But wherever interstate or foreign commerce are involved the public interest is made paramount by the laws of the United States. All classes of the community, workingmen as well as capitalists, are interested in the prompt transmission of the mails and in the uninterrupted passage of person and freight. This principle of the protection of commerce against interruption has become firmly entrenched in our jurisprudence. Under the law declared in these cases, our commerce is subject to be interrupted only by the incidental injury resulting from cessation of service, and not by boycotts or sympathetic strikes not related to the bettering of the conditions of the employees' service. That this principle is firmly established is primarily owing to the clear and courageous enunciation of the law by Judge Taft.

Addyston Pipe & Steel Company Case.

The same principle of the freedom of interstate commerce from illegal restraint declared in the Arthur and Phelan cases was also held by Judge Taft to apply to a business combination, or a "trust," in the Addyston Pipe & Steel Company case (85 Fed. Rep., 271). In this case there was an allotment of territory, comprising a large part of the United States, among a number of companies engaged in the manufacture of iron pipes, and in that territory competition was eliminated through this allotment of territory, and through a system of pretended bidding, giving an appearance of competition, at public lettings, when in fact there was no competition. The decision of the Court of Appeals, rendered by Judge Taft, was afterward affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States. His opinion is a notable contribution to the law, in its masterly analysis of the essential distinction between the legitimate contracts in restraint of trade, which are merely ancillary, or incidental, to some lawful contract, and necessary to protect the enjoyment of the legitimate fruits of that contract, and the agreements where the sole object is a direct restraint of competition, and to enhance and maintain

prices. These latter agreements are unenforceable at common law, and are violative of the anti-trust act when made with reference to interstate commerce.

The distinction here so clearly pointed out has been the basis of the construction of the anti-trust act by the United States Supreme Court in all its subsequent decisions.

Taft's Opinion Supports Unions in Wabash Strike Case.

The words of Judge Taft in the Phelan case quoted above, setting forth the rights of labor organizations under the law, were directly invoked and applied on behalf of the labor unions in a notable case, that of the threatened strike on the Wabash Railroad by the Brotherhoods of Railroad Trainmen and Firemen in 1903 (121 Fed. Rep., 563). In this case, the representatives of these two brotherhoods, after failing to secure the advance of wages and betterment of conditions demanded by the brotherhoods, had been forced to call a strike as their last resort, and thereupon an injunction was filed by the railroad company, in the United States Circuit Court in St. Louis, against the officers of these brotherhoods, enjoining them from calling a strike on the Wabash, as an interstate railroad, on the ground, among others, that the officials of the brotherhoods were not employees of the railroad, and that their action in combining in calling a strike would be a direct interference with interstate commerce, and was therefore an unlawful conspiracy.

The rights of organization and the rights of representation, as set forth by Judge Taft, were thus directly involved. The writer represented those brotherhoods in the hearing on the motion to dissolve the injunction granted in this case, and used the above quoted statement of Judge Taft as the most lucid and effective defense of the action of the brotherhoods and their officials. The Court (Judge Adams) found from the evidence that there was an existing dispute about the conditions of service on the railroad, and that the officials of the brotherhoods had been directed by the members of the brotherhoods to call a strike; that they had a right to be represented in such matters by their own officials, and that the two unions had a right to act in unison in their effort to secure the betterment of the conditions of their members, that an agreement to strike under those circumstances was not an unlawful conspiracy, and the injunction was thereupon dissolved.

Taft's Clear Opinion on Unions.

It was said in the opinion that on the subject of the organization of labor, and the right of labor unions, no one had spoken more clearly and acceptably than Judge Taft, in this language above quoted. (After the dissolution of the injunction, the differences between the railroad and its employees were amicably adjusted, and the threatened strike was averted.)

Thus, while the law was declared by Judge Taft as to the limitations upon the lawful action of labor unions, the essential principles involved in the right of organization were also announced

by him in the same opinion. This right of organization of working-men in the unions would be futile without the right of representation by their own officials in the effort to secure the betterment of their conditions.

There is no foundation, therefore, for the suggestion that the decisions of Judge Taft were in any sense unfriendly to labor, and it is clear that through his lucid declarations of the rights of labor the railroad brotherhoods secured the judicial vindication of their right of combination and of representation in their demands for the betterment of their conditions.

While these important decisions were rendered by Judge Taft, declaring the freedom of interstate commerce from illegal combination both of labor and capital, the limitations upon the rights of organized labor, as well as the essential principles involved in the right of organization for the betterment of their conditions, it would be an imputation upon the brilliant judicial record of Judge Taft to suggest that in any of these opinions he declared the law as a friend of any class, or that he made any judicial utterance in any of the cases otherwise than as a living oracle of the law, bound to declare, in every case brought before him, not his own private judgment, but the judgment of the law.

TAFT ON THE BENCH.

BY HOWARD C. HOLLISTER,
Judge of Cincinnati Court of Common Pleas.

(From *The Green Bag*, July, 1908.)

It is difficult to say when the education of William H. Taft in the law actually began. His father, Alphonso Taft, was a lawyer of great learning, had been a Judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati, and was engaged in important active practice of the law for forty years. Charles P. Taft and Peter R. Taft, William's older brothers, were members of the Bar in active practice for a number of years as partners of their father, and lived, during their brother's earlier years, at home. With the exception of the two years from January, 1883, to January, 1885, Mr. Taft has been in public office since January, 1881, in each instance, except when elected to the Superior Court Branch, having been called to an appointive office, and never through any solicitation of his own.

When on that Bench, so great had his reputation for fairness, thoroughness and knowledge of the law become that leading lawyers sought to time the trial of important and close cases so that they might come before him. The reports of his decisions as Judge of

that Court and as Judge of the Circuit Court of Appeals are mines of apt precedents of great assistance now to members of the profession in the preparation of their cases. Perhaps his most important decisions as Judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati were the Southern Railroad cases, involving questions arising from the over-issue of stock of the C. N. O. & T. P. Railway Company through the fraud of Doughty, its secretary, and the carelessness of Cook, its president; the Telephone case, involving the relative rights of the Telephone Company and of a street railroad operated by electricity, both having franchises in the streets of Cincinnati, to the use of the ground as a return circuit; and the case of *Moores v. Bricklayers' Union*, in which he set out at great length the relative rights, under the law, of employers and employees in their dealings with each other, and particularly with respect to the legal status of a secondary boycott.

Taft's Opinions Become Recognized Principles.

This decision was affirmed by the Supreme Court of Ohio, and so clearly had Judge Taft stated the facts and the law that the Supreme Court's affirmance was made without opinion. The principles declared in this case have been recognized by judges and lawyers all over the country, were reaffirmed by Judge Taft in the Phelan case, decided by him when Judge of the Circuit Court of Appeals, and he said in his recent address at Cooper Institute on "Capital and Labor" that he had never departed from his views as expressed in that case.

Scarcely a year and a half of his term had elapsed when, a vacancy occurring in the office of the Solicitor General of the United States, he was, at the suggestion of Benjamin Butterworth, then in Congress, and John Addison Porter, editor of the *Hartford Post* and afterward secretary to President McKinley, seconded by the efforts of leading members of the Bar and former colleagues of the Superior Court Bench, appointed to that office by President Harrison in January of 1890.

The quality of his equipment for this service found immediate recognition at Washington. It was his duty to represent the Government in the trial of most of its cases before the Supreme Court, to act as Attorney General in the absence of that officer, to prepare the most important opinions requested by the President or the heads of Departments, except such as are required by law to be written by the Attorney General in person, and generally to confer on intricate and important questions of law and administrative policy with the Attorney General and the Assistant Attorneys General.

Three Important Cases.

Of exceptional importance were the Behring Sea cases (*In re Cooper*, 138 U. S. 404; 143 U. S. 472), the Quorum case (U. S. v. Ballin, 144 U. S. 1), and the Tariff Act cases (*Field v. Clark*, 143 U. S. 649).

In the first of these, one Cooper, a British subject, owner of

the schooner "W. P. Sayward," the Canadian Government also intervening, had petitioned for a writ of prohibition against the enforcement of a sentence of forfeiture and condemnation entered by the District Court of Alaska on a libel filed by the United States against that vessel for the alleged illegal killing of fur seals. Leave to file the petition was granted, but on return of the rule to show cause, the Supreme Court declined to issue the writ.

The second involved the question of the legality of an act in the passing of which the Speaker of the House counted, in determining whether a quorum was present or not, members who were actually present but did not vote.

In the Tariff cases it was held that the validity of an act of Congress, signed by the presiding officers of the two Houses and approved by the President, could not be attacked by anything on the journals of either House showing that the act did not in fact pass in the precise form in which it was so authenticated. These cases attracted wide attention. The Solicitor General participated in the argument of all of them. In the Behring Sea case the principal argument was made by him. He prepared the brief in that case and in the Tariff cases, and it is agreed that they are monuments of tireless energy and research. Judge Taft's reputation among the judges and the great lawyers in this wide field was now completely established, and when, under the act creating the Circuit Court of Appeals, a new Judge was to be appointed in each circuit, President Harrison, himself a lawyer of consummate ability, whose discernment had long since discovered the judicial qualities of the Solicitor General, appointed him to the Judgeship in the Sixth Circuit. This was in March, 1892, and for eight years he contributed his full share to the strength of a court of recognized character and capacity.

Railway Brotherhoods Accept Decision.

It was his fortune to be called to preside over many important cases and some of especial moment involving the constitutional, industrial, and partly social questions then and now dominating in the public mind all other matters of governmental administration and power.

Such were the Ann Arbor Railroad case in 1893 (*Toledo, Ann Arbor & North Michigan Ry. Co. v. Pennsylvania Co.*, 54 Fed. Rep. 730), the Phelan case in 1894 (*Thomas v. C. N. O. & T. P. Ry. Co.*, 62 Fed. Rep. 803), and the Addyston Pipe case in 1898 (*U. S. v. Addyston Pipe & Steel Co.*, 85 Fed. Rep. 271) and others.

Engineers of the Toledo & Ann Arbor Railroad were on strike. Rule 12 of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, to which they belonged, required members of the Brotherhood, engineers of connecting roads, to refuse to handle the cars of that road until the strike was settled. Injunction was sought by the Ann Arbor Railroad against the connecting roads on the ground that refusal by them to haul complainant's cars was an interference with its right and duty to transport interstate commerce, and a mandatory order against Chief Arthur of the Brotherhood was asked, requiring him

not to enforce that rule. Judge Taft shows clearly that, under the law, a temporary mandatory order was the only remedy which could prevent irreparable injury to interstate commerce, and that the nature of the service performed by engineers on railroads carrying commerce between the States was of such a character that the combination among the engineers employed on roads other than the one complained of by its engineers was a boycott and therefore unlawful.

The view expressed in this case has not only received the approval of the courts and the public generally, but the attorney for the Railroad Brotherhoods in the Wabash case (121 Fed. Rep. 563), Mr. Frederick N. Judson of St. Louis, says (and it is well known), "was accepted by the Railroad Brotherhoods as a fair statement of the law under the peculiar conditions of the railroad service."

The Cincinnati Southern Railroad was in the hands of a receiver appointed by the United States Circuit Court. The receiver was under contract with the Pullman Company to operate its cars. Phelan and others, officers of the American Railway Union, for the purpose of injuring the Pullman Company and compelling it to accede to their demand for higher wages for certain persons, its employees but not employed by the receiver or by any other railroad, conspired to prevent the receiver and the owners of other railroads from using Pullman cars in the operation of their roads by inciting members of the Railway Union employed by the receiver to refuse to handle Pullman cars. The testimony showed clearly that Phelan was engaged in a conspiracy "to incite the employees of all of the railways in the country to suddenly quit their service, without any dissatisfaction with the terms of their employment, thus paralyzing utterly all railway traffic in order to starve the railway companies and the public into compelling an owner of cars used in operating the roads to pay his employees more wages, they having no lawful right to compel him." Judge Taft held this to be a boycott and an unlawful conspiracy at common law, and also that such a combination, its purpose being to paralyze the interstate commerce of the country, was within the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

It is very interesting to note that the Supreme Court of the United States (*Loewe v. Lawlor*, 28 Supreme Court Rep. 301, February, 1908), have recently held that a boycott of that kind came within the inhibition of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act as a conspiracy in restraint of interstate commerce.

Right of Organization Defined.

Judge Taft showed that a boycott of this character has been held to be illegal by every court in which the question has arisen, and his exposition of the rights of employees is accepted as a clear declaration of the law on the subject. In defining their rights he said, with much else that was pertinent, they "had the right to organize into or to join a labor union which should take joint action as to their terms of employment. It is a benefit to them and to the

public that laborers should unite in their common interest and for lawful purposes. They have labor to sell. If they stand together they are often able, all of them, to command better prices for their labor than when dealing singly with rich employers, because the interest of the single employee may compel him to accept any terms from him. . . . They have a right to appoint officers who shall advise them as to the course to be taken by them in their relations with their employer. They may unite with other unions. The officers they appoint, or any other person to whom they choose to listen, may advise them as to the proper course to be taken by them in regard to their employment, or if they choose to repose such authority in any one, he may order them, on pain of expulsion from the union, peaceably to leave the employ of their employer because any of the terms of their employment are unsatisfactory."

It is from the decisions in the Ann Arbor case and the Phelan case that the misguided zeal of political opponents has tried to discover in Judge Taft an unfriendliness to organized labor as such. No fair-minded man, acquainted with these cases and with the Addyston Pipe case, and with Judge Taft's entire career, will entertain the thought for a moment. Mr. Judson has shown, in a most thorough analysis of those cases and of *Moores v. Bricklayers' Union* how senseless such a suggestion is (*The Review of Reviews*, August, 1907). He was able, as attorney for the Brotherhoods in the Wabash case, to use the opinion of Judge Taft in the Phelan case, quoted above, in defense of the right of organized labor to appoint advisers and be governed by their instructions in controversies with their employees, so long, of course, as they acted, in their operations, within the laws governing the relative rights of employers and employees. Judge Adams, in his opinion in the Wabash case, says:

"On the subject of organized labor no one has spoken more clearly or acceptably than did Judge Taft in the case of *Thomas v. C. N. O. & T. P. Ry. Co.* (Phelan case)."

Manufacturers' Combination Checked.

But a combination of manufacturers, unmindful of the law, also met with a declaration of the law by Judge Taft which put an end to their conspiracy and to all others of a similar character.

The facts in the Addyston Pipe case showed that manufacturers of cast iron pipe, one a corporation of Ohio, one in Kentucky, two in Tennessee and two in Alabama, entered into an agreement covering thirty-six States and Territories, by which they bound themselves to bid in such a way for contracts as that one of them would in all probability get the award as against others not in the combination. It was held to be a contract in restraint of interstate commerce. Here first the Sherman Anti-Trust Act was applied to illegal combinations among manufacturers. Judge Taft held that the reasonable restraints of trade recognized by common law, which are merely ancillary to some lawful contract between the parties, did

not extend to agreements the sole purpose of which was to restrain competition and enhance and maintain prices, and that this agreement was not only illegal at common law, but, affecting as it did commerce between the States, was an unlawful combination under the act against trusts and monopolies. This decision was affirmed by the Supreme Court (175 U. S. 211), and it is to be noted that the principles declared by Judge Taft in all of the cases in which he had taken apparently advanced ground relative to the scope and application of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, have received the affirmation of the highest tribunal in the land.

He gave his decisions in these cases, as in all others, without fear or favor and without respect to persons. His aim was to ascertain the law and then declare it regardless of individuals or combinations of individuals who might be affected thereby.

On the one hand, the ill-advised laboring man, going beyond his rights, and on the other, the greedy manufacturer exceeding his rights, have each felt the repressing hand of this courageous expounder of the law. And if he had taken any other position than he did, he would have forfeited the respect of both. But he could not, for he must declare the law as he found it, and the weakness of expediency is not in the man.

Injunction for Blacklisted Laborer.

It so happens from the nature of things that injunctions have ordinarily been sought, when labor questions were involved, by the employer, usually some wealthy corporation. This fact undoubtedly prompted the inquiry put to Judge Taft by someone in the audience on the occasion of his speech on "Capital and Labor" at Cooper Institute, January 10, 1908.

"Why," asked his interlocutor, "should not a blacklisted laborer be allowed an injunction as well as a boycotted capitalist?"

Instantly came the answer: "He ought to be, and if I were on the Bench, I would give him one mighty quick."

That suggestion of unfriendliness comes either from dishonesty or ignorance. The searcher for truth, be he capitalist or laboring man, when he reads these cases, the answer of Judge Taft to the letter of January 4, 1908, addressed to him by Mr. Llewelyn Lewis, president of the Ohio Federation of Labor, the address before the Cooper Institute, January 10, 1908, and the answers to the questions put to Judge Taft on that occasion, will come away from their perusal with a profound respect and admiration for this fair-minded man.



Letter of President Roosevelt

To CONRAD KOHRS

Regarding the Candidacy of William H. Taft

"The honest wage-worker, the honest laboring man, the honest mechanic, or small trader, or man of small means, can feel that in a peculiar sense Mr. Taft will be his representative."

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. Conrad Kohrs, of Helena, Montana, is an old-time Montana cattleman and one of the most prominent citizens of Montana. He and the President came into close relationship more than twenty years ago when they were both members of the Montana Stock Growers' Association, the President being at that time the representative of the Little Missouri Stock Growers in the association. The intimacy has been kept up ever since. Mr. Kohrs is one of the pioneer citizens of the Northern Rocky Mountain region and one of the men who has taken a leading part in its great development.

Mr. Kohrs' letter was called forth by Mr. Bryan's statement that he (Mr. Bryan) was the President's heir and natural successor.

PRESIDENT'S LETTER.

SAGAMORE HILL,
OYSTER BAY, N. Y., September 9, 1908.

MY DEAR MR. KOHRS:

I have received your letter about the candidacy of Mr. Taft, the man who I feel is in an especial sense the representative of all that in which I most believe in political life.

Every good citizen should desire to see both prosperity and justice, prosperity and fair and righteous dealing as between man and man, obtain permanently in this great republic. As a people we are justly proud of our

business industry, of our energy and intelligence in our work; and it is entirely right that we should ask ourselves as to any given course of conduct, "Will it be profitable?" But it is also no less emphatically true that the bulk of our people, the plain people who found in Abraham Lincoln their especial champion and spokesman, regard the question, "Is this morally right?" as even more important than the question, "Is this profitable?" when applied to any given course of conduct. Indeed, in the long run our people are sure to find that in all dealings, alike in the business and the political world, what is really profitable is that which is morally right. The last few years have seen a great awakening of the public conscience and the growth of a stern determination to do away with corruption and unfair dealing, political, economic, social. It is urgently necessary that this great reform movement should go on. But no reform movement is healthy if it goes on by spasms; if it is marked by periods of frenzied advance, followed, as such periods of frenzied advance must always be followed, by equally violent periods of reaction. The revolutionary and the reactionary really play into one another's hands, to the extent that each by his excesses necessarily tends to arouse such disgust, such a feeling of revolt, in the minds of quiet people, as temporarily to restore the other to power. To permit the direction of our public affairs to fall alternately into the hands of revolutionaries and reactionaries, of the extreme radicals of unrest and of the bigoted conservatives who recognize no wrongs to remedy, would merely mean that the nation had embarked on a feverish course of violent oscillation which would be fraught with great temporary trouble, and would produce no adequate good in the end. The true friend of reform, the true foe of abuses, is the man who steadily perseveres in righting wrongs, in warring against abuses, but whose character and training are such that he never promises what he cannot perform, that he always a little more than makes good what he does promise, and that, while steadily advancing, he never permits himself to be led into foolish excesses which would damage the very cause he champions.

High Qualifications of Mr. Taft.

In Mr. Taft we have a man who combines all of these qualities to a degree which no other man in our public life since the Civil War has surpassed. To a flaming hatred of injustice, to a scorn of all that is base and mean, to a hearty sympathy with the oppressed, he unites entire disinterestedness, courage both moral and physical of the very highest type, and a kindly generosity of nature which makes him feel that all of his fellow-countrymen are in very truth his friends and brothers, that their interests are his, and that all his great qualities are to be spent with lavish freedom in their service. The honest man of means, the honest and law-abiding business man, can feel safe in his hands because of the very fact that the dishonest man

of great wealth, the man who swindles or robs his fellows, would not so much as dare to defend his evil-doing in Mr. Taft's presence. The honest wage-worker, the honest laboring man, the honest farmer, the honest mechanic or small trader, or man of small means, can feel that in a peculiar sense Mr. Taft will be his representative because of the very fact that he has the same scorn for the demagog that he has for the corruptionist, and that he would front threats of personal violence from a mob with the unquailing and lofty indifference with which he would front the bitter anger of the wealthiest and most powerful corporations. Broad tho his sympathies are, there is in him not the slightest tinge of weakness. No consideration of personal interest, any more than of fear for his personal safety, could make him swerve a hair's breadth from the course which he regards as right and in the interest of the whole people.

Test of Ten Years' Intimacy.

I have naturally a peculiar interest in the success of Mr. Taft, and in seeing him backed by a majority in both houses of Congress which will heartily support his policies. For the last ten years, while I have been Governor of New York and President, I have been thrown into the closest intimacy with him, and he and I have on every essential point stood in heartiest agreement, shoulder to shoulder. We have the same views as to what is demanded by the national interest and honor, both within our own borders, and as regards the relations of this nation with other nations. There is no fight for decency and fair dealing which I have waged in which I have not had his heartiest and most effective sympathy and support, and the policies for which I stand are his policies as much as mine.

It is not possible in the space of this letter to discuss all the many and infinitely varied questions of moment with which Mr. Taft as President would have to deal; let him be judged by what he has himself done, and by what the administration, in which he has played so conspicuous a part, has done. But to illustrate just what his attitude is, let me touch on two matters now prominent in the public mind.

Justice Certain From Mr. Taft.

Mr. Taft can be trusted to exact justice from the railroads for the very reason that he can be trusted to do justice to the railroads. The railroads are the chief instruments of interstate commerce in the country, and they can neither be held to a proper accountability on the one hand nor given proper protection on the other, save by the affirmative action of the Federal Government. The law as laid down by the Federal courts clearly shows that the States have not and cannot devise laws adequate to meet the problems caused by the great growth of the railroads doing an interstate com-

merce business, for more than four-fifths of the business of the railroads is interstate, and under the Constitution of the United States only the Federal Government can exercise control thereover. It is absolutely necessary that this control should be affirmative and thorogoing. All interstate business carried on by the great corporations should, in the interest of the whole people, be far more closely supervised than at present by the National Government; but this is especially true of the railroads, which cannot exist at all save by the exercise of powers granted them on behalf of the people, and which, therefore, should be held to a peculiar accountability to the people. It is in the interest of the people that they should not be permitted to do injustice; and it is no less to the interest of the people that they should not suffer injustice. Their prime purpose is to carry the commodities of the farmers and the business men; they could not be built save for the money contributed to them by their shareholders; they could not be run at all save for the money paid out in wages to the railroad employees; and, finally, they could not be run judiciously, or profitably to any one, were it not for the employment by them of some masterful guiding intelligence, whether of one man or of a group of men. There are therefore several sets of interests to be considered. Each must receive proper consideration, and when any one of them selfishly demands exclusive consideration the demand must be refused. Along certain lines all of these groups have the same interests. It is to the interest of shipper, farmer, wage-worker, business man, honest shareholder, and honest manager alike that there should be economy, honesty, intelligence, and fair treatment of all.

Reform Benefits the Honest.

To put an effective stop to stock watering would be a benefit to everybody except the swindlers who profit by stock watering; it would benefit the honest shareholder because honest investments would not be brought into competition with mere paper; it would benefit the wage-worker because when the money earned does not have to go to paying interest on watered capital, more of it is left, out of which to pay wages; it would benefit the shipper because when only honest stockholders have to be paid interest, rates need not be improperly raised; it would benefit the public because there would be ample money with which to give efficient service. Similarly, the prevention of favoritism as among shippers does no damage to any one who is honest, and confers great good upon the smaller business man and the farmer, whom it relieves of oppression. Again, such supervision of accounts and management as will prevent crookedness and oppression works good, directly or indirectly, to all honest people. Therefore everything that can be done along all these lines should be done; and no man's legitimate interest would thereby be hurt. But after this point has been reached great care must be exercised not to work injustice to one class in the effort to

show favor to another class, and each class naturally tends to remember only its own needs. The stockholders must receive an ample return on their investments, or the railroads cannot be built and successfully maintained; and the rates to shippers and the wages to employees, from the highest to the lowest, must all be conditioned upon this fact. On the other hand, in a public service corporation we have no right to allow such excessive profits as will necessitate rates being unduly high and wages unduly low. Again, while in all proper ways rates must be kept low, we must always remember that we have no right and no justification to reduce them when the result is the reduction of the wages of the great army of railroad men. A fair working arrangement must be devised according to the needs of the several cases, so that profits, wages and rates shall each be reasonable with reference to the other two—and in wages I include the properly large amounts which should always be paid to those whose masterful ability is required for the successful direction of great enterprises. Combinations which favor such an equitable arrangement should themselves be favored and not forbidden by law; altho they should be strictly supervised by the Government thru the Interstate Commerce Commission, which should have the power of passing summarily upon not only the question of the reduction but the raising of rates.

Dangers of Demagogery.

This railroad problem is itself one of the phases of one of the greatest and most intricate problems of our civilization; for its proper solution we need not merely honesty and courage, but judgment, good sense and entire fairmindedness. Demagogery in such a matter is as certain to work evil as corruption itself. The man who promises to raise the wages of railroad employees to the highest point and at the same time to reduce rates to the lowest point is promising what neither he nor anyone else can perform; and if the effort to perform it were attempted disaster would result to both shipper and wage-worker, and ruin to the business interests of the country. The man to trust in such a matter as this is the man who, like Judge Taft, does not promise too much, but who could not be swayed from the path of duty by any argument, by any consideration; who will wage relentless war on the successful wrongdoer among railroad men as among all other men; who will do all that can be done to secure legitimately low rates to shippers and absolute evenness among the rates thus secured; but who will neither promise nor attempt to secure rates so low that the wage-earner would lose his earnings and the shareholder, whose money built the road, his profits. He will not favor a ruinous experiment like government ownership of railways; he will stand against any kind of confiscation of honestly acquired property; but he will work effectively for the most efficient type of government supervision and control of railways, so as to secure just and fair treatment of the people as a whole.

Mr. Taft a Friend of Labor.

What is here said as to his attitude on the railway question applies to the whole question of the trusts. He will promise nothing on this subject unless he firmly believes he can make his promise good. He will go into no chimerical movement to destroy all great business combinations; for this can only be done by destroying all modern business; but he will in practical fashion do everything possible to secure such efficient control, on behalf of the people as a whole, over these great combinations as will deprive them of the power to work evil. Mr. Taft's decision in the Addyston Pipe Line case while on the bench is proof, by deeds, not by words, of the far-sighted wisdom with which he serves the interests of the whole people even when those of the most powerful corporations are hostile thereto.

If there is one body of men more than another whose support I feel I have a right to challenge on behalf of Secretary Taft it is the body of wage-workers of the country. A stauncher friend, a fairer and truer representative, they cannot find within the borders of the United States. He will do everything in his power for them except to do that which is wrong; he will do wrong for no man, and therefore can be trusted by all men. During the ten years of my intimate acquaintance with him, since I have myself, as Governor and President, been obliged to deal practically with labor problems, he has been one of the men upon whose judgment and aid I could always rely in doing everything possible for the cause of the wage-worker, of the man who works with his hands, or with both hands and head.

Labor's Confidence in Mr. Taft.

Mr. Taft has been attacked because of the injunctions he delivered while on the bench. I am content to rest his case on these very injunctions; I maintain that they show why all our people should be grateful to him and should feel it safe to entrust their dearest interests to him. Most assuredly he never has yielded and never will yield to threat or pressure of any sort, as little if it comes from labor as if it comes from capital; he will no more tolerate the violence of a mob than the corruption and oppression and arrogance of a corporation or of a wealthy man. He will not consent to limit the power of the courts to put a stop to wrongdoing wherever found. This very fact should make the labor people feel a peculiar confidence in him. He has incurred the bitter hostility of foolish and bigoted reactionaries by his frank criticism of the abuse of the power of injunction in labor disputes, and he is pledged to do all he can to put a stop to the abuses in the exercise of the power of injunction. He will never promise anything that he will not do all in his power to perform. He can always be trusted to do a little better than his word, and the fact that before election he will not promise the impossible is in itself a guaranty that after election all that is possible will be done.

His record as a judge makes the whole country his debtor. His actions and decisions are part of the great traditions of the bench. They guarantee and set forth in striking fashion the rights of the general public as against the selfish interests of any class, whether of capitalists or of laborers. They set forth and stand by the rights of the wage-workers to organize and to strike, as unequivocally as they set forth and stand by the doctrine that no conduct will be tolerated that would spell destruction to the nation as a whole. As for the attack upon his injunctions in labor disputes, made while he was on the bench, I ask that the injunctions be carefully examined. I ask that every responsible and fairminded labor leader, every responsible and fairminded member of a labor organization, read these injunctions for himself. If he will do so, instead of condemning them he will heartily approve of them and will recognize this further astonishing fact that the principles laid down by Judge Taft in these very injunctions, which laboring people are asked to condemn, are themselves the very principles which are now embodied in the laws or practices of every responsible labor organization. No responsible organization would now hesitate to condemn the abuses against which Judge Taft's injunctions were aimed.

Charter of Liberty.

The principles which he therein so wisely and fearlessly laid down serve as a charter of liberty for all of us, for wage-workers, for employers, for the general public; for they rest on the principle of fair dealing for all, of even-handed justice for all. They mark the judge who rendered them as standing for the rights of the whole people; as far as daylight is from darkness, so far is such a judge from the time-server, the truckler to the mob, or the cringing tool of great, corrupt and corrupting corporations. Judge Taft on the bench—as since, in the Philippines, in Panama, in Cuba, in the War Department—showed himself to be a wise, a fearless, and an upright servant of the whole people, whose services to the whole people were beyond all price. Moreover, let all good citizens remember that he rendered these services, not when it was easy to do so, but when lawless violence was threatened, when malice, domestic and civic disturbance threatened the whole fabric of our government and of civilization; his actions showed not only the highest kind of moral courage, but of physical courage as well, for his life was freely and violently threatened.

Let all fairminded men, wage-workers and capitalists alike, consider yet another fact. In one of his decisions upon the bench Judge Taft upheld in the strongest fashion, and for the first time gave full vitality to, the principle of the employers' liability for injuries done workmen. This was before any national law on the subject was enacted. Judge Taft's sense of right, his indignation against oppression in any form, against any attitude that is not fair and just, drove him to take a position which was violently

condemned by short-sighted capitalists and employers of labor, which was so far in advance of the time that it was not generally upheld by the State courts, but which we are now embodying in the law of the land. Judge Taft was a leader, a pioneer, while on the bench, in the effort to get justice for the wage-worker, in jealous championship of his rights; and all upright and farsighted laboring men should hold it to his credit that at the same time he fearlessly stood against the abuses of labor, just as he fearlessly stood against the abuses of capital.

President of the People.

If elected, he has shown by his deeds that he will be President of no class, but of the people as a whole; he can be trusted to stand stoutly against the two real enemies of our democracy—against the man who to please one class would undermine the whole foundation of orderly liberty, and against the man who in the interest of another class would secure business prosperity by sacrificing every right of the working people.

I have striven as President to champion in every proper way the interests of the wage-worker; for I regard the wage-worker, excepting only the farmer, the tiller of the soil, as the man whose well-being is most essential to the healthy growth of this great nation. I would for no consideration advise the wage-worker to do what I thought was against his interest. I ask his support for Mr. Taft exactly as I ask such support from every farsighted and right-thinking American citizen; because I believe with all my heart that nowhere within the borders of our great country can there be found another man who will as vigilantly and efficiently as Mr. Taft support the rights of the working man as he will the rights of every man who in good faith strives to do his duty as an American citizen. He will protect the just rights of both rich and poor, and he will war relentlessly against lawlessness and injustice whether exercised on behalf of property or of labor.

On the bench Judge Taft showed the two qualities which make a great judge: wisdom and moral courage. They are also the two qualities which make a great President.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. CONRAD KOHRS,
Helena, Montana.

WILLIAM H. TAFT



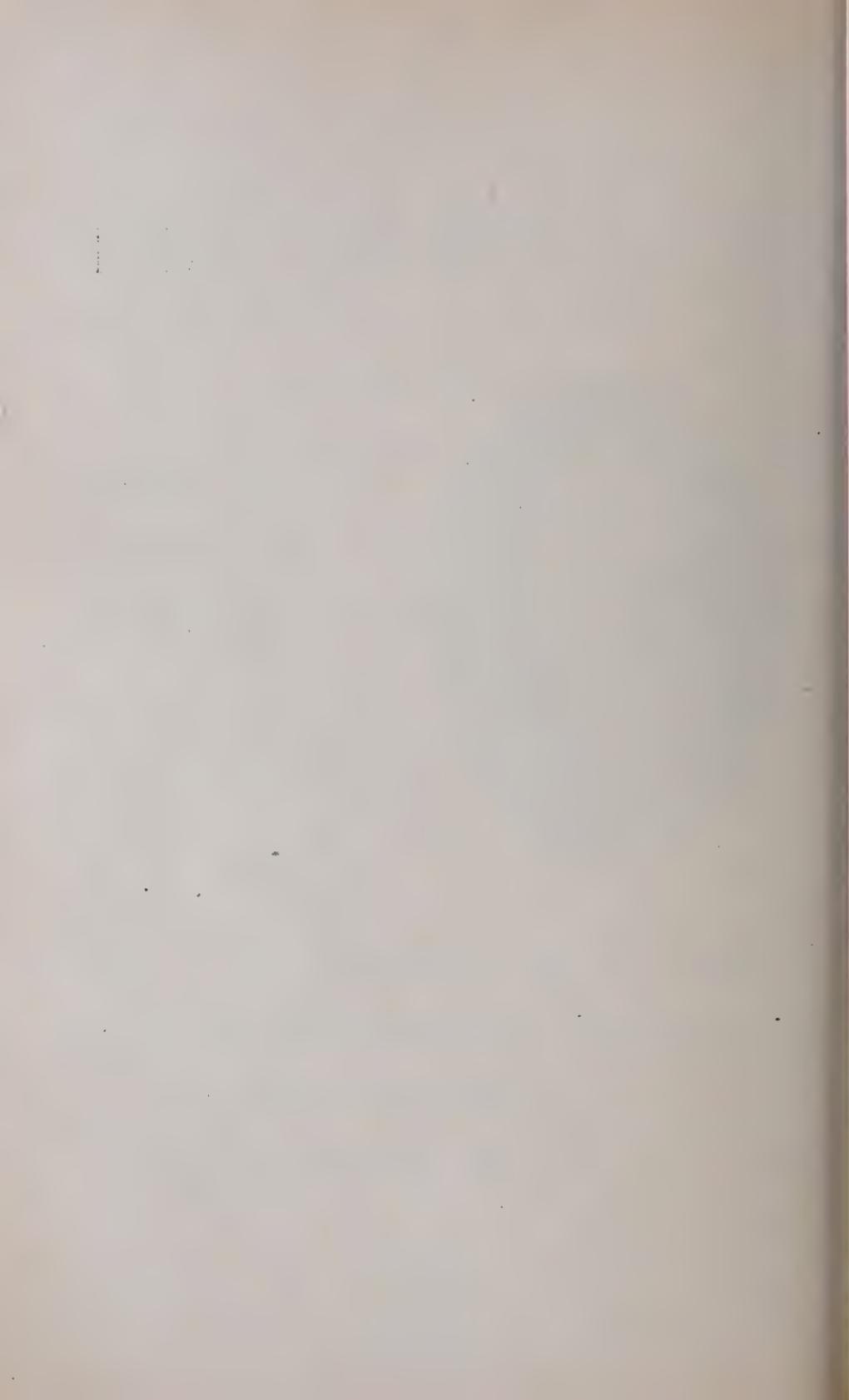
An Appreciation

by

Rev. Lyman Abbott, D. D.

From *The Outlook*, April 4, 1908

What one of America's Most Distinguished Divines Thinks of the Republican Candidate
for the Presidency



WILLIAM H. TAFT.

By Rev. Dr. LYMAN ABBOTT.

(From The Outlook, April 4, 1908.)

"The difficulty with Taft as a candidate," said to me one of his most intimate friends and active supporters, "is that he takes no interest in his own candidacy. He is wholly absorbed in his work, especially in the Filipinos, and leaves the campaign to others. 'My dear fellow,' I say to him, 'you are not running for the President of the Philippine Islands.' But it makes no difference to him. Cuba, Panama, and the Philippine Islands are much more interesting to him than the National Republican Convention."

This absorption in his work is not merely an executive's ambition for achievement; it is not merely a philosopher's interest in problems. Mr. Taft's interest is in men, not in theories. The problem of labor and capital is for him how to promote justice between employers and employed and the welfare of both. His interest in Panama is how to conserve the health and the happiness of the men who are digging the canal. How to reduce the death rate is of more consequence to him than how to increase the number of cubic yards of earth displaced each week. The colonial problem he regards not as a curious political question to be worked out in algebraic terms; it is how to promote the welfare of a distant people whose well-being depends on our success or failure in colonial administration.

"Father of the Filipinos."

It was this interest in men which led him to abandon his chosen judicial career and fling away the opening for certain preferment which lay before him and go to the Philippines to organize a government and attempt what had never before been attempted, to teach an Oriental people to become self-governing. "You are the Father of the Philippines," said a friend to him the other day. "Oh, no," he answered, "I am not; but what I would like to be called is the Father of the Filipinos." It is the Filipinos, not the Philippines, that interest him; it is not the islands but the islanders he wishes to develop. The sugar industry in the islands he does not wish to promote, because it develops social conditions that do not promise well for the political and industrial development of the people. It is this intensely human quality of Mr. Taft's which makes men wish that he might be the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. For our courts need humanizing. They need to realize that they are dealing with living men and women, not with abstract problems in political economy and legal construction. And there is no man who could do more than Judge Taft to humanize our courts, and no place in which he could do so much as on the Supreme Court bench. I do not believe that he would have agreed with the majority of the Su-

preme Court in holding unconstitutional the labor law of New York limiting the hours of labor in the bakeries of the State. To him a man's life is of more value than an abstract but unrealized liberty of private contract.

Free from Race or Class Prejudice

It is this human quality in Mr. Taft that gives him his popular sobriquet of Bill Taft. He likes men, and he likes all sorts of men except those that are dishonest or disloyal. He was the most popular Governor the Filipinos have ever had. This was not wholly because he was absolutely just, was loyal to their interests, urged the earliest possible substitution of civil law for military law, and offered an invincible opposition to all schemes of exploiting the islands for the benefit of unscrupulous American pioneers. He was the personal friend of the Filipinos; he believed in them, defended them, befriended them, trusted them, and—danced with them. This last fact, I am inclined to think, went as far as any, perhaps as all of the others combined, to make the Filipinos idolize him, as they certainly do. For Judge Taft is in the best sense of the term a democrat. He is as free from race and class prejudices of every description as any man I have ever known. He is as thoroughly a believer in the motto, A man's a man for a' that. His friendship for the Filipino is not a patronizing friendship. It is that of a big, wise, helpful brother.

Mr. Taft dancing with the Filipino ladies, who are decidedly below the average American in both weight and height, while I believe Mr. Taft turns the scales only at three hundred pounds, has been the theme of some wondering amusement on the part of those who have only seen Mr. Taft on the platform, or caricatures of him in the press. In fact, he is far from the corpulent and elephantine person he is sometimes described as being.

As to the Matter of Physique.

The Boston *American*, which cannot be suspected of having any partisan fondness for him, in a recent semi-humorous description, hit off his physical personality very well:

Mr. Taft is the kind of man you would expect to find in the president's office of a bank if you went in to start an account. His appearance would give you confidence in the bank. You would say to yourself, "This man will not let the bank fail if he can possibly help it."

They have talked a great deal about Mr. Taft as a fat man. He is *not* a fat man. . . . He has a good broad chest and he stands straight. Below that chest there is a semi-circle. But it isn't the kind of a round stomach that comes from dissipation or self-indulgence. It is due to the fact that Mr. Taft has a powerful constitution and has not given that constitution sufficient exercise.

I agree with the *American* that it would be better for Mr. Taft and better for the Nation if he would take more exercise. But he perhaps takes more than the average reporter seeing him on the

platform would imagine. One thinks of a man of his build as a believer in the Arab proverb, "Never walk when you can ride, and never stand when you can sit." But Mr. Taft is not an Arab. There is nothing of the Oriental love of ease in his make-up. He likes to walk up and down as he talks to you in his office, and is so light on his feet as he walks that you can readily understand that he may be a notably good dancer despite his avoirdupois. He will put his hands in his pockets much as the President does, and, beginning his walk at the fireplace, will walk to the windows of his office, then down its full length, or at right angles down the side of his desk to the opposite wall, and then right about face and back again to the point of departure, and so on continuously.

Taft a Master Workman.

Mr. Taft's intensity is expressed by his activity. He is a quieter worker than Edwin M. Stanton was, but he is not a less active worker. He is not as quick in his motions, either physically or intellectually, as the President; but he is not less a master workman. The day he was to start for Cuba he was at his desk finishing up some last details. His assistant gave him warning: "Train starts in half an hour." "All right," was the reply. Presently a second warning, "Only fifteen minutes left, sir." "All right." Finally, "You've only three minutes left, sir." "All right," came back as serenely as before. And in two minutes the alert Secretary of War came out of the office door smiling, calm, imperturbable, unhurried. So the story comes to me; and I can well believe it. The legend seems probable.

If Mr. Taft's intensity is expressed in his actions, his *bonhomie* and his sense of justice are both expressed in his face. There are some men whom you like but are not quite sure you can trust; and there are some men you can trust but do not quite like. Indeed, I am inclined to think that stalwart principle and kindly good nature are not very often commingled in equal proportions in the same person. But in this respect the faces of Mr. Taft and of Bishop Brooks are alike. A child would be as ready to go up to the one as to the other and put its little hand confidently in his big hand and go wherever he led the way. That this quality of attractive and unshakable integrity is manifest in Mr. Taft's face was apparent to the writer in the *American* from whom I have already quoted. "If the boat were sinking, and he could swim and you couldn't, you'd hand him your \$50,000—if you had it—saying, 'Give this to my wife,' and she'd get it if he lived to get ashore."

His Patience Helps His Work.

Mr. Taft's good nature, his indifference to self, his apparently infinite patience, enables him to get along with men, however cold or acerb or crotchety—provided they are honest. "He can get along with some men," said the President to me recently, "that I can't get along with. We were together in Harrison's administration. I was

Civil Service Commissioner; Taft was Solicitor-General. I got on Harrison's nerves, and whenever I came into the room he set his fingers drumming on the desk before him as though it were a piano. But Taft had no difficulty. And yet he was always a man of highest ideals."

Mr. Taft has been for a number of years the consistent advocate of the policy of government regulation of the great interstate commerce corporations. So far as I know, he was the first judge to summon railway receivers into court on a charge of rebating. Nine years ago, acting as United States Circuit Judge in Ohio, Mr. Taft discovered that the receiver of the Toledo, St. Louis and Kansas City Railroad Company (popularly known as the "Clover Leaf") was giving rebates extensively. Judge Taft sent an auditor of his own selection to the receiver's office in Toledo. Upon the auditor's report, verifying the suspicion, Judge Taft sent for the receiver and insisted upon his resignation forthwith. As the Secretary says, "No criminal prosecution was begun against the receiver. That question was left open, and the receiver died within a few days after his removal."

It is fortunate for their health and happiness that both Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt have a keen sense of humor, and can laugh at the asseverations of certain unintentionally comic papers, which take themselves quite seriously in their statement that Taft is but an echo of his chief.

Taft Not an Echo of Roosevelt.

I first met Judge Taft at the American Bar Association in Detroit, in 1895, where he made an address in which he embodied, in his own judicial fashion, the principles concerning the relations of the Federal Government to the organizations of both labor and capital, the adoption and enforcement of which by the present Administration have brought upon it so much of praise and so much of blame. I shall not attempt here to give an abstract of this paper; a few sentences taken from it will suffice to justify my characterization of it:

The opportunity freely and publicly to criticise judicial action is of vastly more importance to the body politic than the immunity of courts and judges from unjust aspersions.

Men of good repute, with complacence and intentional ignorance, acquiesced in the use of corporate funds to buy legislators and councilmen in the corporate interest, when they would not wish or dare to adopt such methods in their individual business.

Another reason for popular distrust of corporate methods is the use by corporations of great amounts of capital to monopolize and control particular industries. It is my sincere belief that no such control or monopoly can be maintained permanently unless it is buttressed by positive legislation giving an undue advantage over the public and competitors.

In spite of these well known evils, nothing can be clearer to a calm, intelligent thinker, than that, under conditions of modern society, corporations are indispensable both to the further material progress of this country and to the maintenance of that we have enjoyed. The evils must be remedied, but not by destroying one of the greatest instruments for good that social man has devised.

Federal Control of Interstate Commerce.

The repeated efforts of different State Legislatures to impose restrictions upon inter-State commerce to secure some apparent advantage to their own constituents evidence the profound wisdom of the framers of the Constitution in vesting *complete control thereof in the National Government.**

Like corporations, labor organizations do great good and much evil. The more conservatively and intelligently conducted they are, the more benefit they confer on their members. The more completely they yield to the dominion of those among them who are intemperate of expression and lawless in their methods, the more evil they do to themselves and society.

The courts, so far as they have expressed themselves on the subject, recognize the right of men for a lawful purpose to combine to leave their employment at the same time, and to use the inconvenience this may cause to their employer as a legitimate weapon in the frequently recurring controversy as to the amount of wages. It is only when the combination is for an unlawful purpose and an unlawful injury is thereby sought to be inflicted, that the combination has received the condemnation of the Federal as well as the State courts.

How Taft's Principles Are Roosevelt's.

These principles were thus stated in a carefully prepared paper by Mr. Taft at a time when Mr. Roosevelt was acting as President of the Police Board in the city of New York and had given no public utterance of his opinions on the question of great corporations and their relation to the Federal Government. Mr. Roosevelt would be the first to disavow the notion that he discovered or invented the principles which he has so vigorously and so admirably interpreted. The merit of his administration is that by the vigor of his utterances he has compelled the whole country to recognize their justice and set itself under his leadership to their practical application to existing conditions. Mr. Taft remains faithful to judicial principles which he declared six years before Mr. Roosevelt became President: therefore he is an echo of the President! Principles which he has maintained for at least a dozen years he refuses to abandon when they are adopted by his chief, and therefore he lacks independence! He will not enter into an alliance with Mr. Foraker, who is their chief National antagonist, and therefore he lacks political wisdom!

Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt have been warm personal friends ever since they first met in Harrison's administration in 1890. They were equally and simultaneously interested in the colonial problems in 1900, when Mr. Roosevelt was Governor of the State of New York and Mr. Taft was first President of the Philippine Commission. And from that time the four—McKinley, Root, Roosevelt and Taft—agreed in the two propositions, The Philippines for the Filipinos, and Capacity for self-government must precede national independence.

Ever since, in 1878, Mr. Taft was appointed salutatorian by the Yale faculty and class orator by his classmates, he has been known as an effective speaker. Eloquent? That depends upon what is meant by eloquent. His style is Websterian; he is persuasive and convincing rather than electrifying. He compels attention rather

*Italics are mine—L. A.

than wins applause. He is not without humor, but the characteristic of his addresses is serious purpose. Some orators reflect their audiences. "What my auditors give to me in spray," said Mr. Gladstone, "I give them back in drops." This is often a very useful service; it formulates undefined and self-conscious impressions and converts them into convictions. Other orators are essentially teachers; they do not apply to oratory the law of supply and demand; they give their auditors, not what they demand, but what they need.

His Opinions Known to All.

It is in the same spirit that he has discussed, sometimes before unfriendly, sometimes before indifferent, audiences, during the past five years—to go no further back—and always with absolute frankness, so that there is no mistaking his opinions, such themes as Our Eastern Policy, The Currency Question, The Tariff and Tariff Revision, Criminal Law, Local Option, Sunday Legislation, The Race Question, Panama, Labor and Capital, The Great Corporations, Railway Rate Regulation. No defining of his position on any important question is now necessary. The American people know, or can know, where he stands on all National issues.

Of what Mr. Taft has accomplished in Panama, Cuba, Japan, China, the Philippines, I do not here speak. For I am not attempting to tell the story of his life, but to give a pen-and-ink silhouette of the man. Comparing him with other Presidential candidates, he appears to me to be as independent as Mr. Hughes, and to have had a larger experience: possibly not so good a lawyer as Mr. Knox, but a better judge; as human as Mr. Cannon, and possessing ideals which Mr. Cannon disavows possessing; as courteous as Mr. Fairbanks, with a power of action, and at times of splendid wrath, of which Mr. Fairbanks has shown no sign; as truly radical in his advocacy of human rights as Mr. La Follette, but, unlike Mr. La Follette, equally determined to defend them whether the assailant is democracy or plutocracy. To define him in a sentence—Mr. Taft is a great brain and a great heart in a great body.

Dangers of Bank Guarantee Scheme

Plan Threatens Very Foundation of Nation's
Business and Prosperity

By VICTOR MORAWETZ

The Democratic party proposes to impose a tax upon all the National banks, in order to provide a guaranty fund which is to be applied in paying off the depositors of every bank that fails. Mr. Bryan argues with much eloquence in favor of the justice and good policy of this measure on the ground that it would protect innocent bank depositors from loss; and he claims that the adoption of the plan would create such confidence among bank depositors that there would be no more runs upon banks and no future financial panics, with their consequent trains of disaster and ruin.

If the adoption of this guaranty plan would bring about these beneficent results it should be adopted. It would prove a blessing to rich and poor alike, to manufacturers, merchants, farmers and laborers; and the price to be paid for these blessings would not be too high if they can be obtained by imposing a reasonable tax upon all the banks.

Cannot Produce Results Claimed.

However, examination and analysis of the plan shows conclusively that it cannot possibly produce the beneficent results claimed for it, and that, on the contrary, it would produce evils far more serious than those which exist today: that, instead of being a cure-all, this plan is in reality a quack remedy.

The whole plan is based upon misconception of the processes of banking and upon a confusion of ideas. Those who advocate the plan fail to appreciate that insurance of the depositors of a bank against ultimate loss upon winding up the bank in case of insolvency is one thing, while insurance of prompt payment, in cash, to the depositors of a bank whenever it suspends payment, is a very different thing. In the one case the insurers, or the guaranty fund,

would be liable only to make good any deficiency, if all the assets of the bank, when reduced to cash, should prove insufficient to pay the depositors in full. In the other case the insurers, or the guaranty fund, would have to contribute immediately upon the failure of a bank enough cash to pay off all its depositors, and thereupon would become entitled to reimbursement out of the assets of the bank when these are reduced to cash.

Depositors' Losses Very Small.

The losses suffered by the depositors of failed National banks by reason of the ultimate insufficiency of their assets to pay off depositors in full have been very small: about one-twentieth of one per cent. They are infinitesimal compared with the losses of the people through bad debts, frauds, speculation, gambling, indulgence in drink, and other causes which might in great measure be prevented. It might be possible, by a guarantee or insurance fund, to protect the depositors of failed banks against these small ultimate losses upon final winding up of the banks; but it would be absolutely impossible to insure the sufficiency of the cash reserves of the banks so that the depositors of every bank which suspends payment will be paid promptly on demand. The reports of the Comptroller of the Currency show that the aggregate deposit liabilities of the National banks alone amount to more than five thousand million dollars, and that the aggregate amount of cash which the banks hold rarely amounts to one-seventh of their deposit liabilities which are payable on demand. There are individual banks in New York having deposit liabilities in excess of one hundred and fifty million dollars and a good many banks throughout the country with deposit liabilities exceeding fifty million dollars. To draw one hundred million dollars from the reserves of the National banks to pay off at once the depositors of one or two of these great banks, if they should suspend payment, would force the suspension of nearly all the banks in the country and would precipitate universal panic and disaster. What would such a guaranty have been worth during the recent panic, when all the banks suspended?

Bulk of Deposits, Exchange of Credits.

There are many who have been induced to look with favor upon this Democratic plan, because they have been assured that it would protect innocent people who have deposited their savings in the banks, and that all the banks can well afford to contribute a small

tax upon their deposits in order to bring about this beneficent result. As a matter of fact, only a very small percentage of the so-called deposits of the National banks represent deposits of the savings of the people. The great bulk of these so-called deposits represent merely an exchange of credits made for business purposes between the banks and their so-called depositors. The great bulk of the so-called deposits of the National banks originate in the following manner: A merchant, manufacturer or farmer applies to a bank for a loan of such sum of money as he needs—say, for example, \$10,000. He does not want to carry away the money in a bag; what he wants is a credit with the bank so that he can draw his checks upon the bank from time to time in the course of his business. The bank accordingly discounts his note for \$10,000, payable at a future date with interest, and enters in his deposit book \$10,000, less the interest on the note, and this is usually done with the tacit or expressed understanding that the borrower will draw upon the bank only gradually in the course of his business and will always allow a reasonable balance to remain undrawn. The nominal deposits of the bank have been increased ten thousand dollars (less the interest) by a mere book entry, and not a dollar has been actually deposited in the bank. The real transaction was simply a swapping of credits between the bank and the borrower. The transaction was a perfectly honest and proper one, but it is absurd to say that this swapping of credits between business men and the banks is something so highly meritorious and sanctified that the Federal Government should exercise paternal care for its protection by establishing a system of compulsory insurance at the expense of all the banks, and by requiring the sound and conservative banks to pay the losses of those people who choose to deal with the unsound and reckless banks.

Foundation of Prosperity.

A matter of vastly greater importance than the insurance of individual depositors of insolvent National banks from ultimate loss is to secure the safety of the vast structure of bank credits upon which the entire business and prosperity of the country today depends. As already stated, the aggregate deposit liabilities of the National banks alone amount to more than five thousand million dollars, while they keep on hand in normal times an aggregate amount of money amounting to barely one-seventh of their aggregate deposit liabilities. The report of the Comptroller of the Currency shows that the aggregate deposit liabilities of all the re-

porting banks and trust companies in the United States exceed thirteen thousand million dollars and that the aggregate amount of cash which they hold, all put together, amounts to about eleven hundred million dollars, only one-twelfth of their aggregate deposit liabilities. This vast structure of bank credits, upon which the business of the country rests, stands like an inverted pyramid on its apex—*thirteen thousand* millions of deposit liabilities, payable on demand, are based on *one* thousand and one hundred millions of cash reserves; and even this cash is not all ultimate money, but part of it consists of notes which are themselves but promises to pay money. The whole structure of bank credits is based upon the cash reserves of the banks, for two reasons: One is that the deposit liabilities of the banks are payable on demand and therefore the banks must keep on hand enough cash to enable them to pay on demand all depositors who are likely to demand cash, and the other reason is that the amount of the reserve held by a bank fixes the extent to which it can lawfully make loans and grant credits by creating deposit liabilities.

Bank's Negotiable Assets.

Of course, the banks have other assets, consisting of bills and notes receivable and securities, to an amount much larger than the portion of their deposit liabilities for the payment of which they do not keep cash in hand. If a bank is properly managed, these assets will ultimately realize enough to pay off all the deposit liabilities and the capital of the bank and a surplus besides; but no amount of notes, bills or securities is a substitute for cash reserves when a pinch comes. During the recent panic the vaults of many of the banks which suspended payment were bulging with the best and safest commercial paper and securities. In most cases there was not the slightest danger that the depositors would ultimately lose a dollar, even if the banks should have to go into liquidation and be wound up. The cause of the panic and trouble was that the banks had not large enough cash reserves, or rather that they had expanded their loans and deposit liabilities far beyond the limit of safety in relation to the cash reserves which they kept. The injury to business and the loss to the community was not caused by the inability of depositors to obtain cash from the banks for use as a circulating medium, or to be hoarded. The inability of depositors to obtain currency from the banks for use as a circulating medium was only a temporary inconvenience. The great injury caused by the panic resulted from the fact that the withdrawal

of cash from the banks had reduced their cash reserves below the limit imposed by law and required for safety, so that the banks were compelled to call in loans which borrowers could not pay without enormous sacrifice and were compelled to refuse loans and credits necessary for the continuance of the business of the country.

Guaranty Plan's Dangers.

The Democratic plan of insuring bank depositors would not tend to maintain and protect this great structure of bank credits upon which the business of the country depends, but, on the contrary, would introduce new dangers which would tend to bring it tottering to the ground. How would this plan operate? If the plan is to insure prompt payment of the depositors of a bank when it fails, and not merely to make good any ultimate losses of depositors upon final winding up of the bank, an enormous amount of cash would be necessary in order to make the plan effective. The money which the banks would be compelled to contribute to the insurance fund would either be locked up by the Government or it would be invested in securities, or it would be redeposited with the banks. If locked up by the Government, the result would be a reduction of the bank reserves by that amount, with the consequent much larger reduction of the power of the banks to make loans and grant credits. In other words, it would reduce the reserves of the banks and their power to grant credits and would tend to cause a stringency in the money market. If the money should be invested in securities and thus returned to circulation, the Government could reconvert the securities into cash only by selling them, in which event the money to pay for them would have to be drawn from the banks, thereby again causing a stringency in the money market; and this would probably happen at the very time when the banks can least afford to diminish their reserves. If, on the other hand, the money contributed to the guaranty fund should be redeposited in the banks, the only change in the situation would be that the banks would have the same reserves which they had before the money was drawn from them, but they would be subject to call for the repayment of this money out of their reserves in order to pay off depositors of other banks that fail. At best, therefore, the plan would operate as a compulsory pooling of part of the reserves of the banks—the reserves of the prudent and sound banks being made subject to that extent to calls for the payment of depositors in banks that are unsound or badly managed.

Would Weaken Strong Banks.

What, then, would be the effect of the plan? When times are good and business is prosperous, the weaker and speculative banks would be helped to expand their credits and to increase their loans, but in times of stringency and threatened trouble the strong and conservative banks would be forced to contract their credits and to refuse accommodation to their customers in order to preserve and build up their reserves, so that they may be in a position to meet possible demands upon these reserves in order to pay off depositors of the weaker banks that may fail. The strong banks would be forced to be doubly conservative in times of money stringency and threatened trouble, because they would have to be prepared to meet unknown demands, the amount of which they cannot foresee and against which the utmost caution and foresight cannot protect them. The tendency of the plan, therefore, would be to cause expansion of bank credits when conservatism is desirable and to cause contraction of bank credits in times of stringency when credit is most needed in order to prevent panic and disaster.

No Substitute for Cash Reserves.

No guaranty fund, or system of insuring bank depositors, can possibly furnish a substitute for cash reserves. At best the plan would be but an illustration of a man trying to lift himself over a fence by his own boot straps. The plan would not increase the bank reserves by one dollar and would not strengthen the banking situation in the least. It would weaken the strong banks far more than it would strengthen the weak banks. It would tie up all the banks together, the good and the bad, so that if ever a time of great stress and trouble should come they would all be likely to fall together in one general ruin.

Mr. Bryan, however, urges that the adoption of his plan would give such confidence to bank depositors that there would be no more runs upon banks, and therefore no more bank panics. Runs upon banks by small depositors who wish to draw out cash to be hoarded are not the principal causes of bank suspensions. The suspension of a bank is often caused without any visible run upon the bank, when people cease to deposit new money, or when the larger depositors deliver their checks to other banks for collection. But, why should the adoption of his plan inspire confidence and prevent runs upon banks? As has been pointed out, the adoption of the plan would not in the least increase the ability of the banks throughout

the country to pay their depositors on demand, or strengthen the general situation, and it would result in tieing up all the banks together so that in times of real stress and trouble they would all have to suspend. The utmost that could possibly be accomplished would be to insure that the depositors of the unsound banks will, upon final winding up of their banks, be paid in full at the expense of the sound banks. Would the belief of the depositors of a bank that in case of failure of their bank they will get their money in a year or more and that in the mean time there may be general disaster throughout the country be likely to prevent them from trying to get their money as soon as possible? Certainly not. The only way in which this guaranty plan could possibly inspire confidence is by leading people to believe that the plan furnishes security, which it does not in fact furnish—in other words, by deceiving the American people into a false sense of security. The plan can prove successful only by operating as a gigantic bluff that will never be called. The American people cannot be fooled in that way.

Encouraging “Wildcat” Banking.

But, if it were true that the adoption of this plan would make all deposits in National banks equally safe and thereby would inspire confidence in all National bank deposits, as Mr. Bryan claims, the plan would prove a direct encouragement to “wildcat” banking and would prove disastrous in the long run. It would enable speculators or inexperienced persons to form a bank with small capital and to obtain large deposits on the strength of the guaranty, by offering higher rates of interest to depositors than a conservatively managed bank could afford to pay; and they could then use these deposits in promoting speculative or unsound ventures. They would only risk the loss of the small capital which they contributed and their individual liability for an equal amount. If their speculations should succeed, they would reap large profits, but if their speculations should fail and the money obtained from depositors be wasted, the sound banks would have to bear the loss.

Republican Plan Rational.

The Republican party proposes to deal with this banking question in a rational, conservative manner. Having regard to the difference between savings deposits and those commercial deposit liabilities which are merely bank credits created as a means of carrying on the business of the country, the Republican party proposes

to establish a system of postal savings banks so that the people everywhere throughout the country can deposit their savings with absolute safety. A proposal has also been made, and, no doubt, will be considered by Congress, of authorizing the National banks to establish savings departments to be managed, under the supervision of the Comptroller of the Currency, according to the most approved methods of managing savings banks.

The Republican party recognizes that the United States should have the soundest and safest system of banking and currency that can be devised, and to that end a Republican Congress has appointed a National Commission consisting of senators and representatives of both the political parties. That commission is now considering the subject in all its bearings, and after holding public hearings will make its recommendations to Congress at the earliest opportunity.

All Classes Equally Interested.

All classes of the people and all sections of the country are equally interested in establishing our system of banking and currency upon the soundest possible basis. The welfare of the entire country depends upon a sound and practical system of banking and currency, and the only patriotic course is to eliminate all party feeling and politics from the consideration of this great subject. We know that the present system is not perfect and should be improved, but we know also that we have prospered under this system and that there is no such pressing need for a change as to warrant hasty or ill-considered action. This plan of guaranteeing bank deposits undoubtedly will be considered with the utmost care by the National Monetary Commission, and if the plan can stand careful analysis and scrutiny it will be adopted by Congress whether the Government be controlled by Republicans or Democrats. But it would be wrong—inexcusably wrong—to treat this great and difficult question of finance as a question of party politics, to be dealt with by popular vote in the heat of a presidential campaign. Surely the American people will not make this far-reaching change in their banking system and try this dangerous experiment, upon the recommendation of the Democratic party and of a leader who, twelve years ago, and again eight years ago, urged the adoption of the worst financial fallacy of the age, and, if his counsels had prevailed, would have plunged the whole country into disaster and shame.



Christian Missions and Civilization

By the
Hon. WILLIAM H. TAFT



Address Delivered at Carnegie Hall, New York City,
April, 1908

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND CIVILIZATION

By the Hon. WILLIAM H. TAFT

I have known a good many people that were opposed to foreign missions. I have known a good many regular attendants at church, consistent members, perhaps, that religiously, if you choose to use that term, refused to contribute to foreign missions. Now, I confess that there was a time when I was enjoying a smug provincialism that I hope has left me now, when I rather sympathized with that view. Until I went to the Orient, until there were thrown on me the responsibilities with reference to the extension of civilization in those far distant lands, I did not realize the immense importance of foreign missions. The truth is we have got to wake up in this country. We are not all there is in the world. There are lots besides us, and there are lots of people besides us that are entitled to our effort and our money and our sacrifice to help them on in the world. No man can study the movement of modern civilization from an utterly impartial standpoint and not realize that Christianity and the spirit of Christianity is the only basis for the hope of modern civilization and the growth of popular self-government. The spirit of Christianity is pure democracy. It is the equality of man before God, the equality of man before the law, which is, as I understand it, the most God-like manifestation that man has been able to make. Now I am not here to speak of foreign missions from a purely religious standpoint. I am here to speak of it from the standpoint of political, governmental advancement, the advancement of modern civilization. And I think I have had some opportunity to know how dependent we are on the spread of Christianity in any hope that we may have of uplifting the peoples whom Providence has thrust upon us for our guidance.

RELIGION AND POLITICAL GOVERNMENT

I am talking practical facts about the effect of religion on the political government, and I know what I am talking about, I did not realize until I went into the Orient the variety of things that foreign missions accomplish. The missionaries have reached the conclusion that, in order to make a man a good Christian, you have got to make him useful in a community and teach him something to do and give him some sense and intelligence.

So, connected with every successful foreign mission is a school, ordinarily an industrial school. Also they teach the native that cleanliness is next to Godliness and that one business of his is to keep himself healthy, and so in connection with every good foreign mission they have hospitals and doctors. And, therefore, the mission makes a nucleus of modern civilization, with schools, teachers and physicians and the church. In that way, having educated the native, having taught him

how to live, then they are able to be sure that they have made him a consistent Christian

CHINA HEADED RIGHT

Every foreign mission in China is a nucleus of modern civilization. Now China is in a great state of transition. China is looking forward to progress. China is to be guided by whom? It is to be guided by the young Christian students and scholars that either learn English or some foreign language at home or are sent abroad to be instructed, and who come back and whose words are listened to by those who exercise influence at the head of the government. Therefore it is that these frontier posts of civilization are so much more important than the mere numerical count of converts seems to make them.

I speak from the standpoint of political civilization in such a country as China. They have, I think, 3,000 missionaries in China. The number of students was 35,000 last year. They go out into the neighborhoods, and they can not but have a good effect throughout that great empire, large enough as it is, to promote the ideas of Christianity and the ideas of civilization. Two or three things make one impatient when he understands the facts. One is this criticism of the missionaries as constantly involving the governments in trouble, as constantly bringing about war. The truth is that western civilization in trade is pressing into the Orient, and the agents that are sent forward, I am sorry to say, are not the best representatives of western civilization. The American and Englishman and others who live in the Orient are, many of them, excellent, honest, God-fearing men; but there are in that set of advance agents of western civilization gentlemen who left the West for the good of the West, and because their history in the West might prove embarrassing at home. More than that, even where they are honest, hard-working tradesmen and merchants attempting to push business into the Orient, their minds are constantly on business. It is not human nature that they should resist the temptations that not infrequently present themselves to get ahead of the sympathy with a spirit of brotherhood toward the Oriental natives. Even in the Philippines that spirit is shown, for while I was there I can remember hearing on the streets, sung by a gentleman that did not agree with my view of our duty toward the Filipinos:

"He may be a brother of William H. Taft,
But he ain't no brother of mine."

Now that is the spirit that we are so likely to find among the gentlemen who go into the East for the purpose of extending trade. Then I am bound to say that the restraints of public opinion, of a fear of the criticism of one's neighbors that one finds at home, to keep men in the straight and narrow path, are loosened in the Orient, and we do not find that they are the models, many of them, that they ought to be in probity and morality. They look upon the native as inferior, and they are too likely to treat him with insult.

CIVILIZATION PARALLELING TRADE

Hence it is that in the progress of civilization we must move along as trade moves; and as the foreign missions move on it is through the

foreign missions that we must expect to have the true picture of Christian brotherhood presented to those natives, the true spirit of Christian sympathy. That is what makes, in the progress of civilization, the immense importance of Christian missions. You go into China to-day and try to find out what the conditions are in the interior—consult in Peking the gentlemen who are supposed to know, and where do they go? They go at once to the missionaries, to the men who have spent their lives far advanced into the nation, far beyond the point of safety if any uprising takes place, and who have learned by association with the natives, by living with them, by bringing them into their houses, by helping them on to their feet, who have learned the secret of what Chinese life is. And therefore it is that the only reliable books that you can read, telling you the exact condition of Chinese civilization, are written by these same foreign missionaries who have been so much blamed for involving us in foreign wars.

THE BOXER WAR

It is said that the Boxer War was due to the interference of missionaries, and the feeling of the Chinese against the Christian religion as manifested and exemplified by the missionaries. That is not true. It is true that the first outbreak was against the missionaries—because the outbreak was against foreign interference, and it was easiest to attack those men who were farthest in the Chinese nation, and there they made expression of that feeling by their attack against the whole foreign interference. But that which really roused the opposition of the Chinese was the feeling that all we Christian nations were sitting around waiting to divide up the Middle Kingdom, and waiting to get our piece of the pork. Now that is the feeling that the Chinese have; and I am not prepared to say that there was not some ground for the suspicion.

Now you can read books—I have read them—in which the missions are described as most comfortable buildings; and it is said that missionaries are living more luxuriously than they would at home, and therefore they do not call for our support or sympathy. It is true that there are a good many mission buildings that are handsome buildings; I have seen them. It is true that they are comfortable; but they ought to be comfortable. One of the things that you have got to do with the Oriental is to fill his eye with something that he can see, and if you erect a great missionary building, he deems your coming into that community of some importance; and the missionary societies that are doing that, and are building their own buildings for the missionaries, are following a very much more sensible course than is the United States in denying to its representatives anything but mere hovels. But it is not a life of ease; it is not a life of comfort and luxury. These men are doing grand, good work. I do not mean to say that there are not exceptions among them; that sometimes they do not meddle in something which it would be better for them from a politic move to keep out of; but I mean as a whole, these missionaries in China and in other countries worthily represent the best Christian spirit of this country, and worthily are doing the work that you have sent them to do.—*World-Wide Missions*, July, 1908.

Hughes' Reply to Bryan

Governor of New York
Demolishes Democratic
Candidate's Arguments,
in Speech at Youngs-
town, O., Sept. 5, 1908

Striking Sentences IN Gov. Hughes' Speech

The Republican party makes appeal to public confidence as the most important political agency for conservation and for progress.

Mr. Bryan's candidacy "memorializes the fallacies and unsafe policies we are asked to forget. It points the way to business uncertainty and to the impairment of the confidence which is the security of industry and trade."

The campaign watchwords "Shall the People Rule?" and the demand "Whether the government shall remain a mere business asset of favor-seeking corporations" are not impressive when emblazoned on the banners of Tammany Hall and of other essential allies.

The forceful and representative leader is typified to the popular imagination in the person of Theodore Roosevelt.

The business of the great National departments has been in worthy and competent hands.

Looters of the public domain, those endeavoring to maintain combinations in unlawful restraint of trade and those seeking to profit by unjustly discriminating rates and illegal rebates have been taught respect for the law.

The creation of the Bureau of Corporations, the Railroad Rate bill, the Pure Food bill, the Meat Inspection bill, the Employers' Liability bill, and the laws passed for the better protection of labor constitute a record of legislation which no just critic can afford to minimize and which attests in a marked manner the response of the Republican party under its forceful leadership in the demands of the people.

If all that Mr. Bryan has favored during the past twelve years had been enacted into law we should have been overwhelmed with disaster and would regard it as our chief business in the future to find a way of escape from the meshes of ill-considered legislation in which we would have been entangled. It is fortunate for him as well as for us that he was defeated.

No doubt much remains to be accomplished in the way of necessary reform, but the record already made by the Republican party is a noteworthy one.

It may also be said that in the presence of formal written platforms the antecedents of candidates cannot be forgotten.

Platforms must be read in the light of history and they may be eloquent of past mistakes and misguided agitations which their sponsors would gladly ignore, but which the Nation will do well to remember.

The country needs a man rock-based in sound conviction and fundamental principle, in whose good judgment in any difficulty all may feel secure, and such a man pre-eminently is William H. Taft.

There is no man in the country better fitted properly to preside over and direct the varied business of the Executive Department than Mr. Taft.

We must remember that we are about to choose a representative of the people to whom is confided the nomination of Federal Judges, a power second to none possessed by the President, the exercise of which calls for the highest judgment.

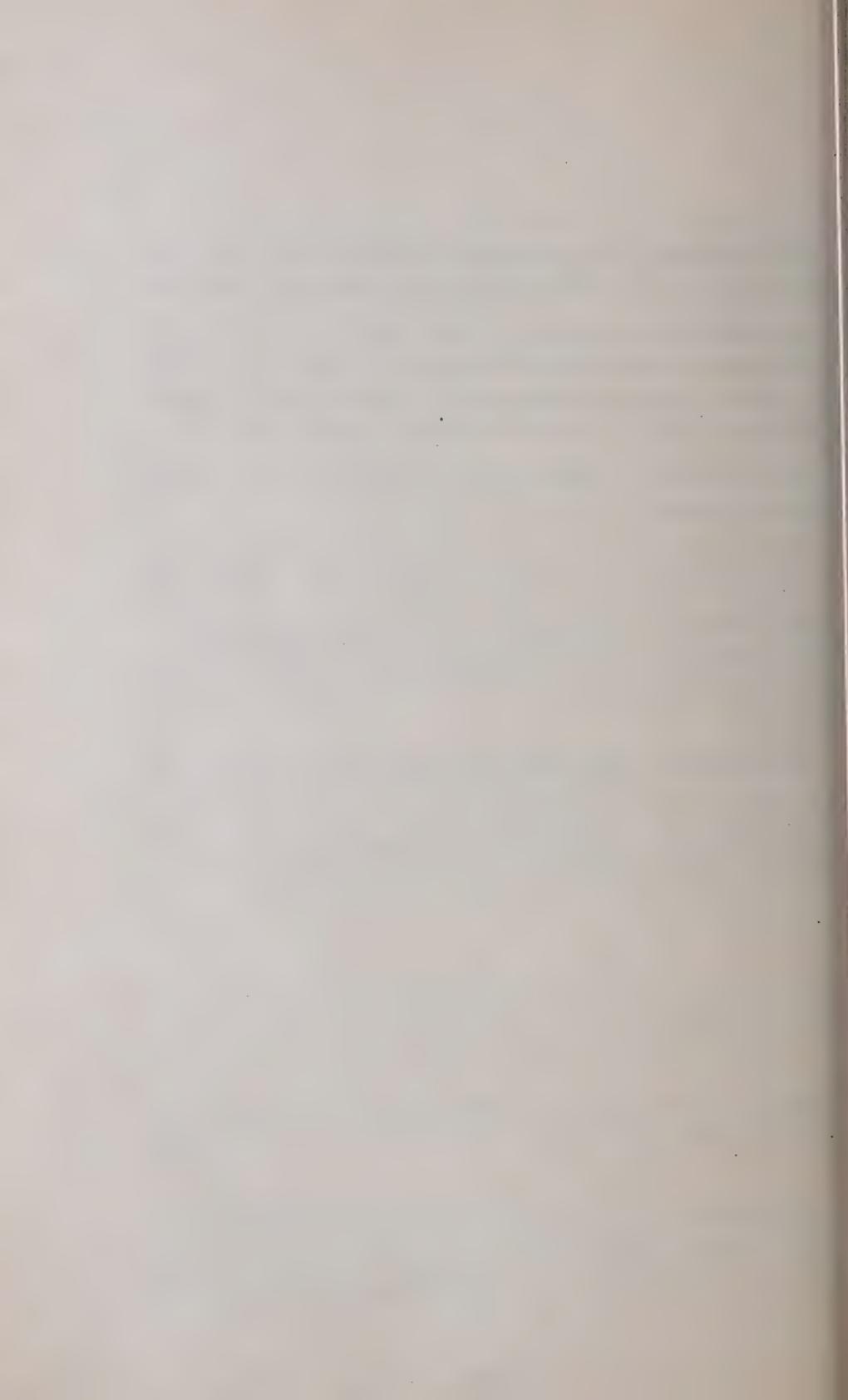
The Democratic party cannot claim unsullied virtue either with regard to the source of its revenues or its readiness to receive them.

As to Mr. Bryan's remedies for trusts, "we find ourselves journeying in a land of dreams. Again the magician of 1896 waves his wand. At a stroke difficulties disappear and the complex problems of modern business are forgotten in the fascination of the simple panacea."

It is the function of law to define and punish wrongdoing, and not to throttle business.

The Republican party has been solicitous of the rights of labor. Mr. Taft is clearly right when he says that "not since the beginning of the government has any other National administration done so much for the cause of labor by the enactment of remedial legislation as has Theodore Roosevelt and the Republican congresses elected to sit during his term of office."

The prosperity of the workingman fundamentally depends upon wise, conserving and upbuilding policies; and demands that efforts to reform industrial evils should be carefully conceived and prosecuted without endangering the stability of legitimate business enterprise.



ADDRESS OF GOV. HUGHES

OF NEW YORK, AT YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO

The Republican party makes appeal to public confidence as the most important political agency for conservation and for progress. By virtue of its achievements, its leadership and its aims, it stands forth as an efficient instrument for strong and capable administration, as a safeguard of stability, and of the prosperity which depends upon stability, and as an unrivaled power for the correction of abuses. It stands in striking contrast to the record of vacillation and ineptitude presented by the chief opposing party. That opposing party proffers a candidacy which is at once a monument and a guide-post. It memorializes the fallacies and unsafe policies we are asked to forget, and it points the way to business uncertainty and to the impairment of the confidence which is the security of industry and trade.

When we hear sounded a strident call to the defense of popular rights, we look carefully to see who constitute the new patriotic army into whose keeping we are asked to turn over the destinies of this great Nation. The campaign watchwords "Shall the People Rule?" and the demand "Whether the government shall remain a mere business asset of favor-seeking corporations" are not impressive when emblazoned on the banners of Tammany Hall and of other essential allies. The army opposing us cannot pass muster either as one of defense or of salvation, and we may well pause before we permit it, despite its boast of fidelity, to garrison our institutions.

Mr. Taft's Candidacy.

No one more than I desires to see administration purged of every selfish taint, to have fair and impartial laws faithfully executed, to get rid of every vestige of special privilege at the expense of public interest, to liberate trade from unjust encroachments, to purify our electoral methods and to maintain honest representative government. And it is because of his loyalty to these ideals, because of his broad sympathies and his rare equipment in character, ability and experience, because tested in the difficult fields of judicial and administrative work he has proved his quality by eminent service, because of his varied learning, his acquaintance with affairs, his respect for constitutional government and his capacity intelligently and justly to plan and direct necessary reforms that I most earnestly support the candidacy of William Howard Taft.

Democrats Supported National Cause.

Twelve years ago the democracy of Tilden and of Cleveland was overthrown in its own house. Under the old name, but with a new alignment and leadership, a desperate assault was made upon the credit of the country and the integrity of private debts. It was an attack upon our fundamental securities, and our belief as to the sincerity of the motive serves only to magnify the dangerous character of the attempt and the unwisdom of the leadership which inspired it. A campaign of education followed. Thousands of Democrats, more intent upon the safety of the country than upon fidelity to a party name, itself betrayed, supported the Republican, or rather the National, cause. Then ensued a great popular victory, the vindication of the conscience and intelligence of the electorate, and the people ruled in the election of William McKinley. Four years later after the surprises of the Spanish war, with its entailment of unexpected obligations, that administration was triumphantly vindicated in popular support. President McKinley, a victim of insensate passion, laid down his life trusted and beloved by all the people. To the

difficult task then devolved upon him with the problems created by an unparalleled prosperity, came a new leader dear to the people's heart. He entered upon his work with courage and determination, and four years ago he received an overwhelming vote of popular confidence.

Roosevelt's Administration.

For seven years, with lofty aim and unconquerable spirit he has labored for the people, and today by virtue of his sincere devotion to their welfare, his valiant attack upon evil in high places, his zeal for the common interest, whether in the protection of the public domain or in insistence upon the freedom of interstate trade, or in the maintenance of high standards of administration, or in the recognition of the rights of labor or in the care of our natural resources, the forceful and representative leader is typified to the popular imagination in the person of Theodore Roosevelt.

It is easy for those who are free of its responsibilities to criticise administration, and criticism is wholesome and stimulating. Mr. Bryan is an eloquent critic, but the record of the Republican party is known to all, and the American people will neither be confused nor misled by adroit thrust or pleader's skill. Their good judgment may be trusted to maintain a proper sense of proportion and to make a just estimate of the work which has been accomplished.

Nation's Honor Maintained.

The business of the great National departments has been in worthy and competent hands. The mention alone of the names of Hay, Root and Taft suffices to call attention to the honorable conduct of affairs in which all our citizens take just pride. The dignity and honor of the Nation have been maintained and troublesome difficulties have been adjusted with an access of prestige. And every American has been gratified by the possession of world-wide influence attained by the President by reason both of his personal

qualities and because of the distinction in our international relations of the administration of which he has been the head.

In the management of internal affairs honesty and efficiency have been insisted upon. Looters of the public domain, those endeavoring to maintain combinations in unlawful restraint of trade and those seeking to profit by unjustly discriminating rates and illegal rebates have been taught respect for the law. Zeal and energy have been shown in the fields of governmental activity, and the welfare of the nation with regard both to present needs and to the requirements of future developments has been the paramount concern.

Republican Legislation.

When we consider the inevitable conflict of many opinions and the importance of the questions involved the record of progressive legislation is extraordinary. The creation of the Bureau of Corporations, the Railroad Rate bill, the Pure Food bill, the Meat Inspection bill, the Employers' Liability bill, and the laws passed for the better protection of labor constitute a record of legislation which no just critic can afford to minimize and which attests in a marked manner the response of the Republican party under its forceful leadership in the demands of the people.

Democratic Proposals.

If all that Mr. Bryan has favored during the past twelve years had been enacted into law we should have been overwhelmed with disaster and would regard it as our chief business in the future to find a way of escape from the meshes of ill-considered legislation in which we would have been entangled. It is fortunate for him as well as for us that he was defeated, and whatever may be his present political potentiality may be ascribed to the fact that hitherto he has not been permitted to carry out his program. No doubt much remains to be accomplished in the way of necessary reform, but the

record already made by the Republican party is a noteworthy one and we must make further advances with care and needed reflection. Our progress will be entrusted to safe hands, and we shall be fortunate in having a sailing master who knows his chart and who will take quite as much account of reefs and shoals as of the speed of the vessel. We have got our direction, we have a most precious cargo and we must have a safe and experienced pilot.

Bryan's Eloquent Silence.

Mr. Bryan says that the Democratic platform "is binding as to what it omits as well as to what it contains." He might have added that it is as significant in the one case as in the other. Lincoln said, "In the absence of formal written platforms the antecedents of candidates become their platforms." It may also be said that in the presence of formal written platforms the antecedents of candidates cannot be forgotten. Silence is often eloquent. In the election this fall we choose men, not abstractions. Platforms must be read in the light of history and they may be eloquent of past mistakes and misguided agitations which their sponsors would gladly ignore, but which the Nation will do well to remember.

Candidacies Contrasted.

There are a thousand exigencies in the affairs of this great Nation which cannot be foreseen or attempted to be controlled by any platform. The sagacity, steadiness of character, firmness and sound judgment of the chief executive must be the security of the Nation in many a trying emergency. And it is no injustice to Mr. Bryan's attractive personal qualities, to his effectiveness as an orator, his skill as a party leader, nor is it any disparagement of the purity of his motives to say that the man who espoused free silver in 1896, renewed its advocacy in 1900 and later declared his belief in government ownership of railroads cannot be regarded as a safe leader to whom may be confided the great powers of the President merely

because those doctrines are omitted from his present platform. The country needs a man rock-based in sound conviction and fundamental principle, in whose good judgment in any difficulty all may feel secure, and such a man pre-eminently is William H. Taft.

Our opponents seem to regard the questions before us as simply involving a program of legislation or of constitutional amendment. But first and chiefly we are electing a President, the executive of the Nation. Nor should we in considering legislative proposals forget this. Now there is no man in the country better fitted properly to preside over and direct the varied business of the Executive Department than Mr. Taft. He already knows it thoroughly. He has rare executive ability. No one is better qualified than he to do the work which under the Constitution the President is called upon to perform.

The Supreme Court.

Not only will the coming election directly affect the executive branch of the Government, but it is most important in its relation to the judicial branch. Rarely has the choice of President involved more far-reaching consequences. For it is not improbable that the next President will appoint at least four judges of the United States Supreme Court. Upon these appointments will largely depend the quality of the judicial work of this great court for years to come. Congress may pass laws, but the Supreme Court interprets and construes them, and determines their validity. The Constitution, with its guarantees of liberty and its grants of Federal power, is finally what the Supreme Court determines it to mean. Upon the learning, wisdom and character of the Judges of the Supreme Court rests not merely the just determination of the important matters of private right which come before that august tribunal, but to a very large degree the course of our political history and the development and security of our institutions. In view of the vacancies which in the natural course of events will most probably occur during the

next few years, we must remember that we are about to choose a representative of the people to whom is confided the nomination of Federal Judges, a power second to none possessed by the President, the exercise of which calls for the highest judgment.

Confidence in Taft.

If we should search the country for a delegate of the people who could be confidently entrusted with this important duty, it is probable that no one could command higher confidence than the Republican candidate for President. Himself a judge, learned in the wisdom of the law, he commanded the respect and esteem of the entire bar of the country, without regard to partisan division. By litigants and lawyers alike it was felt that when he left his important place upon the Circuit Court of Appeals to undertake his difficult duties in the Philippines, the judicial branch of the Government had sustained a most serious loss. And he has long been regarded as one in every way worthy to succeed the present Chief Justice of the United States. With his fairness and acumen, with his wide knowledge of the bar from which the judges must be recruited, with his broadmindedness and democratic sympathy, and his keen interest in all that pertains to the welfare of the people, we may be assured that if he is selected to perform this duty the interests of the country will be impartially and wisely safeguarded in its discharge.

Quality of Administration.

Legislation must inevitably depend upon the complexion and disposition of Congress. The President can only recommend or veto. But the quality of the National administration on its executive side will depend entirely upon the man who is chosen to be President. Whatever else we may do or fail to do, that we can determine in our vote for presidential electors. The character of our diplomacy, the concerns of our insular possessions, the management of our vast internal business and the many intricate questions

which lie within the range of executive discretion are in the hands of the President for the weal or woe of the Nation. And on this issue alone as the coming election will determine the character of the executive administration for four years and in all probability the character of the judicial branch of the Government for many years longer, the sober judgment of the people can hardly fail to miss the importance of the selection of such a man as Mr. Taft.

Questions Which Are Not Issues.

Some questions which are discussed with no little vigor can hardly be considered as campaign issues. Mr. Bryan desires United States Senators to be chosen by direct vote of the people in the several States. Mr. Taft also inclines to favor this course. And I am glad he does.

But this can be accomplished only by constitutional amendment, and such amendment can be had only when ratified by three-fourths of the States. This would hardly seem to be an issue upon which to select a President. In case of congressional initiative two-thirds of both houses must concur in order to present the amendment for ratification. Or if the States desire the amendment and there is any such sentiment as promises the necessary ratification, two-thirds of the States may require a convention to be called for the purpose. Further, any State may, if it desires, provide for a direct vote which will generally be treated by the Legislature as binding because of its expression of the wish of the people. This is the case in a number of States where Senators are practically chosen by direct vote now. But as long as there are twelve States who do not desire the amendment, the constitutional provision for the election of Senators by the legislatures cannot be changed.

"Tyranny of Minority."

Again, Mr. Bryan objects to the present rules of the House of Representatives and complains that it is no longer a "deliberative

body." How to make the procedure of a body of nearly four hundred members more fully deliberative while at the same time to make provision for the proper dispatch of business, how to give greater freedom and how to escape from the alleged tyranny of the Speaker without creating a new tyranny of the minority, is a question which parliamentarians may discuss to advantage. It would be well to have some definite statement of the amendments desired and an opportunity to judge their effect. In any event, the members of the House will make such rules as they think best and the general suggestions of the Democratic platform on this point can hardly be regarded as pertinent to the Presidential campaign.

Election Laws.

Mr. Bryan also has much to say with regard to corrupt practices and campaign expenditures. But he omits to give due credit to the Republican party for what it has accomplished with regard to these important reforms, an accomplishment the more noteworthy in the light of Mr. Bryan's reiterated criticisms of contributions to Republican campaign funds. In the State of New York a Republican Legislature in 1906 passed a statute prohibiting corporations from making any political contributions, directly or indirectly, and providing that officers, directors, or stockholders participating in or consenting to the violation of the law should be guilty of a criminal offense. And I know of no more drastic statute in this country with regard to the publicity of campaign contributions and for the prevention of corrupt practices than that passed in New York under Republican auspices. These were not promises of an opposition party seeking power, but enactments by a party in power securing genuine reforms.

Purity of Elections.

Proper recognition must of course be given to the patriotic Democrats who supported these reforms, but they were enacted by a Re-

publican administration. Congress has also legislated against political contributions by corporations. Purity of elections and free opportunity for the uncorrupted expression of the popular will lie at the foundation of every reform and cannot be too carefully safe guarded. And there should be federal legislation securing proper publicity of and accounting for campaign contributions in connection with federal elections. But it must fairly be recognized that the skirts of neither party have been clean. If we search Mr. Bryan's following we shall find not a few who have sinned, and also those who, if we may judge from their local activities, are still unrepentant. The Democratic party cannot claim unsullied virtue either with regard to the source of its revenues or its readiness to receive them. And when criticism is meted out to the Republican party on this score justice requires that it should also receive credit for the reforms it has achieved.

Revision of the Tariff.

Both parties demand a revision of the tariff. But they differ in the principle and aim of such revision. The Republican party stand for the policy of protection. It maintains its historic position in defense of American standards of living and of the American scale of wages. The Democratic party seeks, as Mr. Bryan construes it platform, to overthrow protection and to establish a revenue tariff. Instead of readjustment of protective rates and a fair arrangement of schedules consistent with the long established policy of the country under which our trade has been developed and our industrial activities have attained their notable expansion, he insists on an overthrow of the entire system of protection, thus threatening the dislocation of trade and the most serious disturbance of industry. He seeks not tariff revision, but tariff revolution. Mr. Bryan appears to recognize the serious consequence of such a course and in announcing his position he hastens to assure us, that "the Democratic plan does not contemplate an immediate change from one system to

the other; it expressly declares that the change shall be gradual and a gradual change is only possible where the country is satisfied with the results of each step taken." This opens a vista of indefinite tariff tinkering to accomplish the desired object.

Revision there must be. It should be prompt, thorough and fair. But the policy of protection will be maintained and American industry, involving the interests of our wage-earners, must be properly safeguarded.

Difference of Principle.

But it is urged that the Republican party cannot be trusted to make a fair revision of the tariff. Those who are opposed to a protective tariff and whose aim is to put the tariff upon a revenue basis can no more be trusted to make a revision consistent with the policy of protection than those who believe in protection can be expected to adjust the tariff to purposes solely of revenue. If, however, it be charged that the Republican party will not undertake an honest revision and that the application of the protective principle will not be worked out in a reasonable and proper way, it may fairly be retorted that there is no basis, to say the least, for any greater confidence in the operations and methods which might be adopted by our opponents in their proposed readjustment. The experience of the years when they last had the opportunity to frame new schedules in the tariff of 1894, does not inspire such confidence. The rugged Cleveland was disgusted with the work of his own party and while he did not veto the bill that was prepared, he refused to give it the sanction of his signature.

"Other Remedies for Trusts."

If there are interests desiring favors it does not follow that they will be denied merely because the banner of revenue tariff floats from the Capitol. The difference is one of principle and is not to be confused by suggestions of improper influences.

The Democratic platform proposes to place upon the free list articles coming into competition with those controlled by the "trusts." But when Mr. Taft points out that if such a course were destructive to the trusts it would certainly destroy the smaller competitors of the trusts, Mr. Bryan replies, with characteristic ease, that he has "other remedies for the trusts" and that it may not be necessary to use this one after all. What becomes of the question of the essential justice of the proposal and what part is it to play in the "immediate revision?"

Mr. Bryan's Remedies for Trusts.

When, however, we consider these other remedies that are proposed for the trusts, we find ourselves journeying in a land of dreams. Again the magician of 1896 waves his wand. At a stroke difficulties disappear and the complex problems of modern business are forgotten in the fascination of the simple panacea. And as the free coinage of silver in the ratio of 16 to 1 was to destroy the curse of gold, so the new-found specific of equal perfection is to remove the curse of industrial oppression. The delusion of 1908 is comparable only to that of twelve years ago.

The first suggestion is that the law should prevent a duplication of directors among competing corporations. However advisable it may be to have independent directorates of competing corporations, it would seem still more important to have independent stockholders, for a majority of the stockholders of a corporation choose the directors. If a law were passed preventing the duplication of directors it would easily be evaded in the selection of men who would represent the same interests. The most ordinary experience shows that it is not necessary to serve on a board of directors in order to control its proceedings. Whatever the advantage of such a law as is proposed, it hardly rises to the dignity of a "remedy," or vindicates its title to a place in an imposing scheme of reform outlined in a National platform.

Delusion of Ratio.

But the more important proposal is "that any manufacturing or trading corporation engaged in interstate commerce shall be required to take out a federal license before it shall be permitted to control as much as 25 per cent. of the product in which it deals." A license is permission, and the object of the remedy is not to regulate large businesses, but to destroy trusts. Hence the supposed efficiency of the plan is to be found in the prohibition of the control by any such corporation "of more than 50 per cent. of the total amount of any product consumed in the United States." This is another delusion of ratio.

It might be interesting to inquire what is the meaning of "any product consumed in the United States." Does it refer to a class of commodities? And, if so, how shall the classes be defined? Or does it refer to each separate article of commerce? And, if so, what account does this proposal take of the skill and initiative of manufacturers who have built up a more or less exclusive trade in particular articles, often protected by trade-marks, although in most active competition with other articles designed for the same general purpose and seeking the same market?

Embargo on Honest Endeavor.

In a desire to correct the evils of business are we to place an embargo upon honest endeavor whose activities present none of the abuses requiring remedies? And, if not, what statutory definitions shall be found to be adequate and just if we lay down our prohibition in terms of volume or ratio of business and not in terms of right and wrong? If we adopt Mr. Bryan's proposal to what period of production is the prohibition to apply? Is the excess for a day or for a month to be considered? Or is the average production for a year to be taken? And what system shall be devised by which suitable information may be furnished in the nature of danger signals along the routes of trade so that the manufacturer may know.

when he is about to exceed the prescribed ratio? He may justly be required to govern his own conduct, but how shall he be apprised of the conduct of others upon which is to depend his guilt or innocence?

The patent laws confer a true monopoly in the exclusive right to manufacture and sell. Are these laws to be repealed because a "private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable?" Is it proposed to apply the prohibition of control of more than 50 per cent. to patented articles?

Mr. Bryan's Reasoning.

An example of Mr. Bryan's reasoning is found in his statement that "when a corporation controls 50 per cent. of the total product it supplies forty millions of people with that product." There are, of course, specialties which have a limited market and are used by a relatively small number of the people of the United States. More than 50 per cent., and indeed even as much as 100 per cent., of the trade in such articles may be in the control of a particular corporation. This may, in fact, be relatively a small corporation. It may never have aspired to the unsavory renown of a "trust." But by prosecuting its particular line with fidelity and meeting satisfactorily a limited want, or by reason of some secret processes or advantage of experience, it may control the trade in a given article of commerce. Or, suppose a concern controls the whole trade in some useful by-product which it has found it advantageous to make, is the trade to be prohibited?

The Democratic platform makes no exceptions to cover such cases, and we have learned that it is equally "binding as to what it omits."

Dismembering of Plants.

If we could imagine such a crude prohibition to be enacted into law and to be regarded as valid, what would be the effect? Mr. Bryan, with his usual readiness, suggests that the concern may sell

as much of its plants as are not needed to produce the amount allowed by law. He speaks as though every manufacturing concern had as many fully equipped units of production as would correspond to any given percentage of trade which it might be required to lop off. Plants are not so easily dismembered. Reduction in output means reduction in work, reduction in the number of men employed, and curtailment of the efficiency of a going concern. Let us suppose a concern which controls 80 per cent. of a given product—that is to say, makes and sells \$8,000,000 in value out of a total trade in the product amounting to \$10,000,000. Is it to be compelled to reduce its output to \$2,000,000 because only \$2,000,000 in value are made by others? Then, if it could sell a part of its plant on Mr. Bryan's theory, what should it sell? Should it sell off enough to reduce its capacity to \$5,000,000 and allow three-fifths of its plant to remain idle until others developed a capacity for handling the other \$5,000,000. Should it assume that the total trade will increase and is not always to remain at \$10,000,000 and hence retain a larger portion of its plant in idleness?

Ruin of Working Men.

Or suppose a concern controls 100 per cent. of the trade in some article, what plants shall it retain? It can produce nothing until others produce; but it may produce an amount equal to the production of others, and it hopes the trade will grow. What a vision of business uncertainty and confusion; of idle and impaired plants; of the ruin of workingmen whose lives have clustered around particular industries and who depend upon their continued efficiency, is presented by this fanciful remedy for the destruction of trusts?

Apart from this, if the dissolution were effected in the manner desired and portions of plants could be sold and were sold as suggested, to whom would the sale be made? Would it be necessarily to foes or to those ambitious to become competitors and anxious to take advantage of its plight?

This proposal, in its utter disregard of the facts of business, in its substitution of the phantasies of the imagination for the realities of life, stamps the Democratic platform with the fatal stamp of 1896. The commerce and industry of this country; the interest of its wage-earners and of its interdependent masses, who must rely upon the stability of business, cannot afford to give license to such vagaries.

Law No Throttler of Business.

In the solemnity with which this proposal has been declared, and the insistence with which it is advocated, we find an appropriate test of the capacity of our opponents to deal wisely with the problems of the day.

It is the function of law to define and punish wrongdoing, and not to throttle business. In the fields of industrial activity the need is that trade should be fair; that unjust discriminations and illegal allowances giving preferential access to markets should be prevented; that coercive combinations and improper practices to stifle competition should be dealt with regardless of individuals; but that honest industry, obtaining success upon its merits, denying no just opportunity to its competitors, should not be put under prohibitions which mingle the innocent and the guilty in a common condemnation.

The Republican party, in making intelligent progress to these ends, will be under competent leadership. Ten years ago, in the discharge of his duties as a judge, without thought of political preference, Mr. Taft in a luminous and comprehensive opinion laid down the principles governing the anti-trust act applied to improper combinations affecting interstate trade in industrial products.

Opinion in Addyston Case.

This was the famous Addyston Pipe and Steel Company case, in which the decision of the court below was reversed on Circuit Judge

Taft's opinion, and his decision afterward sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States forms a landmark in our jurisprudence in the firm application of the law against improper industrial combinations. He has expressed himself clearly and emphatically, and his sincere desire to lead the people in intelligent warfare against every form of abuse in interstate trade which admits of legislative or administrative correction, may be trusted.

The line of progress lies not in arbitrary action but in securing suitable publicity and supervision, and by accurate definition of wrongs and the infliction of proper punishment. The processes of justice may be slower and more laborious; but if we desert the lines of soberness and fair play to get quick results through arbitrary interferences with trade, we shall find that such short cuts lead only to disaster.

Guarantee of Bank Deposits.

The plan proposed by the Democratic platform to provide for a guarantee of bank deposits is also open to serious objection. Mr. Taft promptly pointed out its weakness, and Mr. Bryan, despite his skill, has been unable effectively to answer his criticisms. The plan proposes to make the honest and prudent banks meet losses for which they are in no way responsible. Mr. Bryan replies that all banking restrictions operate to curtail the freedom of the prudent because of the dangers arising from the abuses of others. But it is one thing to put a business under needed restrictions operating impartially and quite another to compel banks to make good specific losses not attributable in any way to their neglect or default.

If this plan is a good one for the banks, why should it not be applied to insurance companies? They are chartered by the State and are subject to its close supervision. Life insurance, for example, is one of the essential safeguards of the home, and the interests of the policyholders cannot be too surely protected. But what

would be thought of a proposition to compel the well-managed and conservative life insurance company to make good the losses which would be sustained by those insured in other companies that become insolvent? This would largely deprive the former of the just benefit of its own conservatism and well-earned reputation and make easy the efforts of the unscrupulous.

Encourager of Recklessness.

The business of banking and insurance must be transacted under strict supervision; but those institutions which operate fairly and prudently within the law should not suffer either from laxity of governmental supervision with regard to others or from improvidences and frauds with which they have no concern.

Mr. Bryan tries in vain to meet the criticisms that the plan proposed would encourage reckless and dishonest men, who would seek deposits on the faith of such an assurance. It must not be forgotten that they do not conduct their enterprises with the expectation of failure nor do they contemplate loss to the depositors; but deposits are the sinews of banking enterprise, and to the extent that such a guaranty would facilitate them in obtaining deposits, the opportunity for the play of illegitimate purposes and the temptation to indulge such purposes, would obviously be increased.

Guaranty Fund Errors.

Mr. Bryan asks, "would it not be worth something to the stockholder in peace of mind to know that the maximum of his loss would be the value of his stock and the one hundred per cent. liability, and that no depositor could lose anything?" It may be supposed that there would be an added "peace of mind" on the part of managing officials. And this diminution of anxiety and of the sense of moral responsibility with regard to deposits could not fail to have

its effect upon the prudent conduct of the business, and place a severer strain upon governmental supervision. The conditions under such a plan would inevitably tend to increase banking losses, however they might be made up. It may be added that the guaranty fund, if it were established on a scale sufficiently large to ensure the required protection, would furnish difficulties both with regard to its investment and its availability in emergencies.

This proposed plan does not meet the demand for an elastic currency system through which the monetary wants of the country may be supplied. To supply such a system is an urgent necessity and its provision would obviate many of the dangers which have hitherto existed; but to make banks pay for losses they have not caused is to depart from proper principles and to encourage improper practices.

Interests of Labor.

The Republican party has been solicitous of the rights of labor. Mr. Taft is clearly right when he says that "not since the beginning of the government has any other National administration done so much for the cause of labor by the enactment of remedial legislation as has Theodore Roosevelt and the Republican congresses elected to sit during his term of office." And in support of this assertion he instances the re-enacted Employers' Liability act, the Safety Appliance acts, the Government Employees' Compensation act; provision for the investigation of mine disasters and legislation with respect to child labor in the District of Columbia. He has exposed the disingenuousness of the plank in the Democratic platform that "Injunctions should not be issued in any cases in which injunctions would not issue if no industrial disputes were involved,"—a Janus-faced proposal, meaning what you like. The Republican party has taken a reasonable attitude upon the injunction question. But more important to labor than any benefits which may reside in improved procedure in injunction cases is the opportunity to work. It profits

little to a workingman to be told that he will be given the right to trial by jury in case he is guilty of contempt of court, if those who promise it propose to enter upon a fatuous course of arbitrary interference with trade. The prosperity of the workingman fundamentally depends upon wise, conserving and upbuilding policies; and demands that efforts to reform industrial evils should be carefully conceived and prosecuted without endangering the stability of legitimate business enterprise.

And it is to the Republican party under its wise and experienced leadership that we must look in the present exigency for proper guidance to these ends. It is not a time for nostrums or for the rule of a party which proposes them.

Progress Must Be Sure.

But while we freely criticise opposing programs and candidacies, we as freely recognize that no party has a monopoly of patriotic motive or of sincere endeavor to contribute to the welfare of the Nation. Divided into different groups, espousing different principles and advocating conflicting methods, our citizens are imbued with the same love of country and are inspired by the same devotion to its interests. We criticise each other without bitterness, realizing that in the contests of public discussion we find the surest protection of our institutions, and that we may confidently rely upon the final judgment of an intelligent and conscious electorate. I have an abiding confidence in the progress of the people. Resistlessly they move forward to the attainment of their goal. Every privilege maintained at the expense of the common interest will finally go the way of despotism and ancient tyranny. But in our progress we must seek to avoid false steps. Ours must be the rule of reason, clear-eyed, calm, patient and steadfast; defeating the conspiracies of intrigue and escaping the pitfalls of folly. Supreme must be the sense of justice, with its recognition of our mutual dependence. We cannot change human nature or

bring about a state of society or of administration of government which does not reflect its failings. We rejoice in the measure of success which has already been attained, and we must resolve to devote ourselves more loyally than ever to the general good, counting our partisan opportunities and victories as gain only as they give us chance to serve our common country.

One vital, dominating fact confronts the Democratic party which no oratory, which no eloquence, which no rhetoric can obscure:
BRYAN'S NOMINATION MEANS TAFT'S ELECTION.

—New York World.

The effect of the organization of labor, on the whole, has been highly beneficial in securing better terms of employment for the whole laboring community. I have not the slightest doubt, and no one who knows anything about the subject can doubt, that the existence of labor unions steadies wages.

—William H. Taft, at Cooper Union, New York City.

Principles are more enduring than men, more lasting than factions.

—James S. Sherman.

Instead of making a panic, the national policy of ending the lawlessness of corporations in interstate commerce, and of taking away their power of issuing, without supervision, stocks and bonds, will produce a change in their management and remove one fruitful cause for loss of public confidence.

—William H. Taft, to Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, Boston, Mass.

The Republican party was born because of a principle, and it has lived and grown because of principles too sound to be overthrown, too deep to be effaced.

—James S. Sherman.

Whenever the interstate commerce commission deems it important as an aid in fixing rates to determine what it would cost now to rebuild any railroad, it has complete power to do so.

—William H. Taft, at Columbus, Ohio.

For an individual as for a party, a good record is a good platform to stand on. Fremont, Lincoln to McKinley and Roosevelt—what a record, and what an assurance for the future.

—George B. Cortelyou, in an address to the New York State League of Republican Clubs.

The Republican party is not only rich in men, but rich in practical and beneficent principles—it is rich, too, in its record, in promises performed and pledges fulfilled, and so we are for party and party principles first and will acquiesce in the choice of the majority, rallying around the standard bearer who will carry us again to victory.

—James S. Sherman.

The exposure and punishment of public corruption is an honor to a nation, not a disgrace. The disgrace lies in toleration, not in correction.

—President Roosevelt's annual message, second session Fifty-seventh Congress.

Whenever the Government revenues need an increase or readjustment I should strongly favor the imposition of a graduated inheritance tax and, if necessary for the revenues, a change in the Constitution authorizing a Federal income tax.

—William H. Taft, at Columbus, Ohio.

The real evils connected with the trusts cannot be remedied by any change in the tariff laws. The trusts can be damaged by depriving them of the benefits of a protective tariff only on condition of damaging all their smaller competitors and all the wage-earners employed in the industry.

—President Roosevelt, at Cincinnati, September 20, 1902.

The credit of the Government, the integrity of its currency, and the inviolability of its obligations must be preserved.

—President McKinley's inaugural.

Evils are to be suppressed by definite and practical measures—not by oratory or denunciation.

—William H. Taft, at Greensboro, North Carolina.

There has never been a Republican Administration which has not carried us forward. There has not been a Democratic Adminstration since the advent of the Republican party that has not carried us backward.

—James S. Sherman.

The Democratic party has never had the courage, even when it had the opportunity, to enact into law its own promises. The Republican party on the contrary has not only promised but has fulfilled its pledges and accomplished even more than it pledged. That is why it has the confidence of the people, that is why it can again be intrusted with legislation and administration for another term. That is why it should be, and I believe will be, successful again next November.

—James S. Sherman.

The course of the Republican party since its organization in 1856, and its real assumption of control in 1861, down to the present day, is remarkable for the foresight and ability of its leaders, for the discipline and solidarity of its members, for its efficiency and deep sense of responsibility, for the preservation and successful maintenance of the government, and for the greatest resourcefulness in meeting the various trying and difficult issues which a history of now a full half-century have presented for solution.

William H. Taft, at Kansas City, Mo.

Government must be honest, business dealing must be square with the principles of right and justice, the things that are pure and clean and of good repute must be exalted; and underlying the whole fabric of our institutions we must safeguard our schools and keep pure and undefiled, as the very foundation of our liberties, the American home.

—Postmaster-General Cortelyou on Lincoln's influence on American Life.

When we regard the history of the forty years through which the colored man of this country has been obliged to struggle, the progress which he has made, material and educational, is wonderful.

—William H. Taft, at Kansas City, Mo.

Assuredly it is unwise to change the policies which have worked so well and which are now working so well.

—President Roosevelt's speech accepting 1904 nomination.

What I am anxious to emphasize is that there is a wide economic and business field in which the interests of the wealthiest capitalist and the humblest laborer are exactly the same.

—William H. Taft, at Cooper Union, New York City.

Speeches of State Chairman, Spencer B. Adams, and Hon. A. H. Price, at the Charlotte Convention, August, 1908.

CHAIRMAN ADAMS REVIEWS SPLENDID RECORD OF PARTY

Gentlemen of the Convention:

I congratulate you on the personnel of this splendid convention of loyal Republicans. The party has had many conventions in this state. However, I am sure it has never had a better one in its history than is assembled here today. We came to Charlotte, and we are glad we came. The welcome the patriotic citizens have already extended to us is a guarantee that we will be well provided for while here.

REASONS FOR CONFIDENCE

We have met here to adopt a platform of principles and nominate a ticket, which we propose to elect on the third day of next November, and nominate electors whom we shall elect, and they in turn will carry out the wishes of the people of North Carolina by casting the electoral vote of this state in the electoral college for President for the best equipped man living in America today, Hon. William H. Taft.

We will elect our state ticket because we are right and our Democratic friends are wrong; because we will nominate a man for governor who will not find it necessary to proclaim that he has no dynamite about his person in order to allay the fears of the business people of the state.

We will elect our ticket because we will nominate a man for governor who believes in an honest ballot, who is in favor of seeing that ballot honestly counted, and will not declare in his opening speech that he will be governor regardless of how the people vote, and that his opponents had as well place their ballots in a rural mail box as in the ballot box.

We will elect our ticket because we will nominate a man for governor who would not so invade the sanctity of the ballot box as to declare in a public speech that the pollholders in Halifax county had done more to carry elections than the leaders and voters of his party.

We will elect our ticket because we will nominate a ticket that capital as well as labor can support.

We will succeed because we will nominate men who will fearlessly discharge their duty, and every man and every legitimate interest can and will feel that they will be amply protected.

We will elect our ticket because the people of North Carolina are sick and tired of the leaders of the Democratic party, who array one interest against another, and one class against the other.

We will elect our ticket because the Democrats, while promising to reduce taxation, have increased the same.

We will succeed because the people of North Carolina are ripe for a change.

REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES

Our electors will be elected because we have adopted a platform of principles that declares:

1. For an equitable revision of the tariff, and for protection of American industries, American brain and American labor.

2. For a sound currency, and that every dollar shall be as good as gold.

3. For a savings bank system for the convenience and protection of the people.

4. For the continued enforcement of the Sherman antitrust law, and for the enactment of such additional laws as will break up and forever destroy unlawful combinations in this country.

5. For the continued enforcement of the law against rebates and discriminations.

6. That declares its approval of the employers' liability law, the passage and enforcement of the safety appliance statute, and additional protection to engineers and firemen, the reduction of the hours of labor of trainmen and railway telegraphers, and for the enactment of further laws that will give more adequate protection and safety to the laboring man.

7. For the integrity of the courts and for the protection of life, liberty and property.

8. For the convenience and upbuilding of the American farmer, by giving him better mail facilities in the establishment of free rural routes, good roads, etc.

9. For the protection of the American citizen, whether on land or sea.

10. For the speedy completion of the Panama canal, which means so much to our own beloved southland.

11. The Republican party declares for these principles, and the American people know that these principles will be enacted into law.

Our electors will be elected because we have a candidate whose word is his bond, who promises to see that the principles as above set forth will be carried out, and whose pledge is a guarantee that it will be done.

Our electors will be elected because the American people know that the history of this country has been written largely by the Republican

party for the last forty years, and that the principles of the Republican party, enacted into law, have made this the greatest country on earth.

Our electors will be elected because the American people know that a Republican promise means a performance, and that a Democratic promise means a nonperformance.

Our electors will be elected because we have a candidate for President who is sane and conservative, who will see that the American farmer as well as capitalist and wage-earner, in fact, every one, has absolute justice; who has always been right and is now right on every important question that does now or ever did confront the American people.

Our electors will be elected because our Democratic friends have a candidate who has always been wrong, is now wrong, and will ever be wrong on all governmental questions affecting the welfare of the American people.

MR. BRYAN'S RECORD

The only reason now urged by our Democratic friends why Mr. Bryan should be elected President in the coming election is that he is now sane, and there is no harm in him. This is rather a severe indictment. I do not desire to do Mr. Bryan an injustice, as I regard him as a wonderful man. However, I do not agree with my Democratic friends that there is no harm in him.

The first time we heard from Mr. Bryan was in 1890, when he was elected to Congress from the state of Nebraska. At that time he was an advocate of free trade, and a believer in the free and unlimited coinage of silver, without waiting for the consent of any other nation at the heaven-born ratio of 16 to 1.

In 1892, he was a candidate for re-election. Mr. Cleveland was the candidate of the Democratic party for President, and was elected that year. Yet, Mr. Bryan, your candidate, voted for General Weaver in that election, who was a greenback Republican, and ran on a platform declaring:

1. For government ownership of railroads.
2. The free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.
3. Inflation of the greenback currency.
4. Government ownership of telegraphy and telephone lines.
5. Initiative and referendum.

This platform also said that the nation had been brought to the verge of moral political ruin, that legislatures, congresses and courts were corrupt, that the press was subsidized, and that there were only two classes in the country, tramps and millionaires.

These are the principles that Mr. Bryan voted for in 1892, and these are the principles that he has advocated since that time. There has been nothing original with Mr. Bryan since then, except possibly imperialism, and he has succeeded in committing the Democratic party to all of these Socialistic principles since he has become the absolute dictator of that party.

EFFECTS OF DEMOCRATIC RULE

I believe he served two terms in Congress, and while there he was one of the most eloquent champions of the Wilson-Gorman tariff law, the enactment of which brought ruin and destruction to the American people—this law, which brought on during Mr. Cleveland's second term such a panic in this country. Business became stagnant, values shrunk, and during the four years of Mr. Cleveland's administration, and under the operations of the Wilson-Gorman tariff law, which Mr. Bryan helped to pass, our bank clearings fell off \$10,000,-000,000, our exports fell \$229,000,000, and our imports increased \$20,000,000. Many factories were running on half time and the greater number were absolutely idle, wreck and ruin abounded everywhere, fortunes were swept away in a night-time, men of capital hoarded their money, and the laborer was thrown out of employment, and reduced to poverty. The products of the farm were reduced in price, corn bringing 30 and 40 cents per bushel, wheat 40 and 50 cents per bushel, cotton 5 cents per pound, and honest men walking the streets begging work, the merchant, the farmer and the wage-earner turning gray in a night, the national revenues failing to meet the expenses of the Government, the national treasury was empty, and in a time of peace we borrowed on bonds \$262,000,000. Three million men were thrown out of employment, and one-third of the railroads of this country were in the hands of receivers.

After the expiration of Mr. Bryan's second term in Congress, we hear but little of him. I presume he took to the woods, as did other Democratic leaders who were responsible for the conditions then existing, to escape the indignation of an outraged and impoverished people.

MORE OF MR. BRYAN.

The next we hear of Mr. Bryan is in 1896, when he appeared at the National Democratic Convention at Chicago, at the head of a contesting delegation. Business was stagnant, people out of employment; it was the day of the agitator, and the National Democratic Convention was his natural Mecca.

The sound money delegation from the State of Nebraska was unseated, is my recollection, in that convention, and Mr. Bryan's free silver Socialistic delegates from that state were seated.

When the platform was read in the convention, Mr. Bryan made a speech, and in closing he said: "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns; you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

It is commonly known that this speech gave Mr. Bryan the nomination for the Presidency in 1896. From that hour the Democracy of twenty years ago passed away, and you have nothing left now except a party of Bryan and a party of Bryanism. Since that good day, with possibly the exception of the national convention in 1904, he has written the platform, he has said what should go in and what should be left out, he has been its candidate and dictated its policies

with an iron hand and with absolute despotism. He has denounced those who would not subscribe to his theories as traitors, he has gone into state delegations and denounced members of the national committee as hirelings, and dictated as to who should be elected, he has denounced the only President the Democratic party has had since the war as a bunco-steerer, and when, at the last national convention, a resolution was proposed by Judge Parker, the candidate of the Democratic party for President in 1904, offering condolence and sympathy to the bereaved wife and the fatherless children of the only President the Democratic party has elected since the war, this resolution had to be sent to Mr. Bryan to be blue-penciled by him before it could be introduced in the national convention at Denver, and yet Mr. Bryan exclaims, "Shall the people rule?"

He today declares in favor of publicity of contributions for campaign purposes. When the books of his national committee, I am informed, show that there were \$288,000 contributed by the silver mine owners of this country to his campaign fund in 1896. I have never heard of Mr. Bryan making this public.

As I said before, the Democratic party has departed from the principles of Jackson and Jefferson, and has degenerated into a party of Bryan and Bryanism.

They always have what they call a paramount issue, and should be called "paramounters".

In 1884 the paramount issue was free liquor. They declared for the total abolition of the internal revenue laws, and said that every man should have the right to do as he pleased with his fruit and grain, making all the brandy and whiskey he wanted, and pay the government no tax. They elected a President upon a platform pledged to the abolition of the internal revenue law, and in one of his first messages to Congress he said that the American people had no just cause of complaint of the internal revenue laws, and soon thereafter they increased the tax upon the whiskey from 90 cents to \$1.10 per gallon.

In 1892 free trade was the paramount issue. They elected their President again. They declared that protection is robbery, and in the Wilson-Gorman tariff law, passed and above referred to, there was ample protection for iron and steel, and for a score of other articles therein enumerated. We were told that our protective tariff laws, under which this country and all of its interests had grown and blossomed as the rose, was robbery; that the American people were being taxed from the cradle to the grave, by reason of the fact that there was a tariff upon tombstones.

In 1896 the paramount issue was free silver. They declared for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation on earth. This was when this Moses appeared upon the scene, who proposed to lead the Democracy out of the wilderness of despair into the promised land. They told you that the money of your fathers had been murdered, John Sherman was denounced as a traitor to his country, and they

talked about the awful crimes of '73. This was the time that Coin's financial school appeared on the scene, where it was argued that wheat and silver rose and fell together, that you would never get better prices for your cotton, your wheat or your corn until the passage of a bill authorizing the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.

You were told that if McKinley was elected there would not be sufficient money in the country to educate your children, or supply the wants and necessities of life. Mr. McKinley, however, was elected, confidence was restored and we became once more a happy and prosperous people.

PARAMOUNT ISSUES

In 1900 they discovered another paramount issue, and this time it was imperialism. They told you if the great and good McKinley was elected President, you would have a king in this country, and they actually attempted to make Aguinaldo, a very small Filipino insurgent, a bigger man than Jefferson. Mr. McKinley was elected, and Mr. Bryan and his theories again repudiated, the country continued to grow and prosper under a Republican administration.

In 1904, their paramount issue was trusts and monopolies. They declared themselves trust-busters, and denounced the Republican party as being in favor of trusts that were grinding the life out of the American people.

They nominated Judge Parker this time, and things were running along smoothly until some one discovered that the only bill ever introduced, and only statute ever passed to prevent unlawful combinations in this country, and to punish violations of the law in this respect, was introduced in Congress by a Republican, passed by a Republican Congress, and signed by a Republican President, and the only prosecution ever instituted under this law was by or under the direction of a Republican attorney-general, and under a Republican National Administration.

It has been discovered further that this law, which is known as the Sherman Antitrust Law, was a dead letter, during the second administration of Mr. Cleveland, and was declared unconstitutional by his attorney-general, Mr. Olney, and that this statute went finally to the Supreme Court of the United States for a construction to test its constitutionality, and every Republican member of that court declared the law constitutional, and every Democratic member of that court joined in a dissenting opinion, declaring the law unconstitutional.

The American people, realizing that the professions of the Democratic party were false, again defeated them, and elected Mr. Roosevelt by an almost unprecedented majority. The country continued to grow and prosper under the wise policies of the Republican party.

In 1908 their modern Moses again appears on the scene, denouncing every one who opposes him, and again writes the platform and dictates the candidates. Their paramount issue this time is "No harm in

Bryan", and they again incidentally touch upon trusts and combinations.

NO HARM IN BRYAN

When they say there is no harm in Mr. Bryan, ask them when he repudiated the Socialistic doctrines he has been advocating all these years, government ownership of railroads, the free and unlimited coinage of silver, inflation of greenback currency, government ownership of telegraphy and telephone lines, initiative and referendum, imperialism, and denouncing the Republican doctrine of protection to American industries, American labor and American brain. Has he given any evidence of repentance for the advocacy of all these "isms?" Not at all, but contends that he was right then and is right now.

They say he now has a good platform. My reply is, what does Mr. Bryan care for a platform? He is the same Mr. Bryan as in 1892, 1896, and 1900. His efforts have been in keeping with the wild doctrines he has advocated, and the people of this country will never elect a man as President who has advocated the Socialistic doctrines he has, and gives no evidence of repentance.

When they talk about trusts, ask them what the Democratic party has ever done to break up trusts in this country, except to denounce trusts in their platform. They may say that they have had no opportunity. If they do, point out to them the fact that the anti-trust law was on the statue books during Cleveland's second administration. Have them point out to you the prosecutions they have instituted under this law. They can show you none.

REPUBLICANS ENFORCE THE LAWS

While the Republican party has enacted an anti-trust law, and a large number of suits and indictments have been instituted under this law by a Republican administration, such as the suit brought by the government to prevent thirty-one railroad companies engaged in operating between Chicago and the Atlantic coast from forming themselves into an association to control competitive traffic and fix rates.

Another suit brought, which resulted in breaking up the cast-iron pipe trust.

Another suit, known as the Northern Security Company suit, which resulted in preventing a merger of the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern Railroad companies.

Another suit, brought to prevent an unlawful combination of live stock dealers.

Another suit, brought against the great packers in Chicago, commonly known as the beef trust, preventing them from carrying on an unlawful conspiracy, and to control the price of dressed meats.

And further, an indictment against these meat packers for violating the anti-trust law.

Another, a suit brought against the General Paper Company to

break up an unlawful combination of that company.

Another which resulted in breaking up the coal trusts.

Another against the salt trust, and a number of others.

Suits are almost daily being brought to break up the various trusts in existence in this country, and indictments had which are obtaining the results sought for.

While these great reform movements are going on, inaugurated and consummated by a Republican administration, that administration is met by the stubborn opposition on the part of our Democratic friends to prevent the very things they denounce.

The Democratic party should not succeed and will not succeed because it has no fixed set of principles, because it is for one thing today and for a totally different thing tomorrow, because it adopts a platform which they call principles, and violates every promise made in those platforms, because when they are in power destruction and ruin come upon the American people as a pestilence, and because they have been wrong on every important governmental question that has confronted the American people within the last forty years.

The Republican party will succeed and should succeed because it has a fixed set of principles, and the American people know those principles will be enacted into law, and every promise made the people will be redeemed by a strict fulfillment thereof.

The Republican party should succeed and will succeed because it has been right on every important public question since the foundation of this government, whether as the old Federal party, under the leadership of Alexander Hamilton, when it declared that the government should be strong enough to protect every American citizen; whether in the days of the old Whig party, under the leadership of Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, when it declared that protection to the American industries was the cornerstone of American greatness; or whether in the days of Abraham Lincoln, when it declared that this republic could not endure half slave, half free; or in the days of U. S. Grant, when it dealt a staggering blow to the doctrine of Democratic repudiation, by declaring that every government bond should be as sacred as a tomb; or whether in the days of William McKinley, when it declared that every honest laborer was worthy of his hire, and should receive an honest dollar for an honest day's work; or whether in the days of William H. Taft, when it declares that labor and capital should receive absolute justice, and when it declares for the protection of American homes, American industries, American labor and American brain.

From a tariff speech delivered by Abraham Lincoln: "I do not know much about the tariff, but I do know this much: when we buy manufactured goods abroad we get the goods and the foreigner gets the money; when we buy the manufactured goods at home, we get both the goods and the money."

MR. PRICE'S SPEECH

Mr. Price spoke as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention:

It is extremely appropriate that this convention of true and tried patriots should assemble in the Queen City of North Carolina, in the historic county of Mecklenburg, for upon this hallowed ground first flamed the fires of national freedom; first blazed the light of national glory.

Therefore, it is well that upon this most auspicious occasion we should firmly resolve that on November 3rd, 1908, the govermental affairs of this great commonwealth be committed to the care and custody of the Republican party; that party of patriotism eternal as the stars.

The people of North Carolina are to be congratulated upon the fact that the day of political intolerance, partisan prejudice and sectional bitterness is past, and that every citizen is permitted to freely advocate and follow his honest, conscientious political convictions.

There was a time in this good state when politics was a matter of sentiment, and then it was fashionable for the political "spellbinder" to preach the doctrine of hatred, bitterness, meanness and sectional narrowness. Such methods are now despicable to our intelligent electorate and appeals must be made to the common sense, good judgment and business sagacity of our people.

In other words, argument and reason must be substituted for abuse and denunciation.

In approaching the discussion of national politics I shall trespass upon your patience for only a few moments, because it does not require the wisdom of an Oriental philosopher to foresee with ease the result of the coming national election. In the minds and hearts of the American people there is an abiding confidence that the national Republican party is best qualified to continue the administration of governmental affairs, and on November 3rd, 1908, the appreciative and grateful people of this Republic will go to the polls and say, "Well done, good and faithful servant."

For twelve long years the destinies of the republic have been confided to the keeping of the Republican party, and in that time more general progress has been made along right lines than ever before in the history of our country. Has not the public conscience been aroused as never before against evil of every sort and kind, and by that matchless, dauntless, fearless statesman, Theodore Roosevelt? Has not rascality and villany met the stern condemnation of the law? Has not corporate greed and predatory wealth suffered the penalty of wrong doing? And has not every vexatious problem been solved in the interest of the general good? And above all has not this great party placed its glorious banner in the hands of a man whose election means

a consummation of these noble govermental ideals? I refer to that trained, tried, true, finished statesman and patriot, Hon. William H. Taft. His election means the application of a well-balanced mind, calm conservative judgment, and that wisdom obtained by a long judicial experience, and innate executive temperament, to the solving of intricate, delicate problems of governmental administration.

What, on the other hand, do our opponents present for the consideration of an intelligent American voter? Nothing more or less than the usual "Bryanitic" program. The democracy of Jefferson, Jackson, Tilden and Cleveland is but a memory, and the Democrat of twenty years ago is but a lone wanderer upon our political arena. What has been the "Bryanitic" program for the last twelve years? Largely a superabundant indulgence in tiresome verbosity, and a continuous exploitation of radical political eccentricities.

For twelve long years we have been permitted to enjoy a political "menu" of great variety, and luxuriant growth, largely emanating from the voluminous and versatile mind of the "peerless one." Never before have there been such acrobatic feats of political contortion. Never before have there been so many melancholy and lugubrious prophecies and forebodings of evil. Never before has there been so much "denouncing, deplored and viewing with alarm." Never before has there been so much twisting and turning, and backing and filling, and shifting and slipping and sliding, and promulgating and paramounting, as we have enjoyed under the benign hallucinations and harmless vagaries of the former "Boy Orator of the Platte."

We have been bountifully served with that rare "16 to 1 or bust", and with that fatuous "will-o'-the-wisp", imperialism, and that incomparable delicacy, the "initiative and referendum", and that fine political dessert, "government ownership of the railroads". The "peerless one" contends that the country is now in a deplorable condition, just as he did in 1896, that a great panic prevails throughout this fair land, just as it was in 1896, but due "a la Bryan" to the mal-administration of President Cleveland. If so, why, I ask, should not the Bryan remedy of 16 to 1 be applied? If 16 to 1 was the panacea for all evils in 1896 why should it not be equally effective in relieving national diseases in 1908? According to Mr. Bryan we have the same evils now, as then. If imperialism was the paramount issue in 1900 why is it not the paramount issue in 1908? According to Mr. Bryan the same conditions exist.

If there was any one thing that caused a part of our deluded people to follow blindly the political vagaries and fallacies of this dreaming doctrinaire, it was their belief and confidence in his honesty, candor and perfect sincerity, and lo! in this good year of our Lord, 1908, we behold a sudden death-bed repentance and an abject renunciation, an unequivocal retraction, a lightening-like reformation, an humiliating abandonment of solemn declarations, and an apparent premeditated purpose to weave a political net in which to catch political suckers. Of course, we have the same old methods of chronic complaining, of

carping criticism, of violent opposition, of lingering dissatisfaction, of general political debility and incurable political dyspepsia, but no longer the immortal ratio of 16 to 1, and no longer the indispensable "initiative and referendum."

Will not this variegated "Bryanitic" program disgust the American people? Will the intelligent American citizen continue to be deluded? Are not these inconsistencies self-evident and apparent?

What has become of this boasted honesty, this perfect candor, this sublime moral courage, this intrepid determination to be right rather than be President? Gone, gone glimmering down the valley of political expediency. "Ye who listen with credulity to the whispers of fancy, and pursue with eagerness the phantoms of hope; who expect that age will perform the promises of youth, and that the deficiencies of the present day will be supplied by the morrow" pin your faith to the antiquated propaganda of a twice discredited, disregarded, defeated Bryan. Why should I waste my breath an energy in seriously discussing trusts, tariff, injunctions and financial problems when the Bryanitic program upon these matters is based entirely upon theory, surmise, speculation and prophecy.

The Republican administration is making an earnest effort to solve these problems in a cool, calm, fair-minded, dispassionate manner. It would be an act of self-stultification were I to be betrayed into a minute discussion of what purports to be the issues of this campaign, for there are no issues, and if any one can be induced to believe that there are national issues then they are embodied in the personality of the great and only "peerless one".

It can be plainly seen that the earnest desire of the "peerless one" is to direct the public mind from his "rare, rich and racy" record for the past twelve years, by engaging us in a discussion of economic questions, and thereby pitch the political fight on his own selected battle ground. Very smart of him, but we do not propose to walk into his parlor, said the spider to the fly, but to wage an aggressive warfare upon the field of his political "summersaults".

It is unnecessary for me to detain you longer by a discussion of state affairs, for the state chairman has elaborately presented them for your consideration. I will, however, remark that the unsatisfactory industrial condition prevailing in our midst, is but the logical sequence and natural outcome of the demoralization caused by the continuing appeals of political time-servers, to the prejudices that are easily aroused in the minds of the people, against capital of every sort and kind. The politician who goes about the state stirring up envy, jealousy and sullen hate, and preaches the doctrine of discontent, is a public enemy and ought not to be tolerated.

There is no natural antagonism between capital and labor, because their interests are mutual and reciprocal. It is a recognized fact, admitted by the capitalist, that the welfare of the country depends upon the happiness and prosperity of the laborer. "For the labor is the country, and the country is labor, and there are no classes." Does

any sane man suppose, for one moment, that the useless agitation resulting in extreme legislation against the railroads of our state, by the first session of our general assembly, was for any other purpose than the making of political capital. What has been the result of this harmful strife?

We have had a large expenditure of public funds, in calling together in extra session our general assembly to undo the wrongs of the regular session; an expensive, bitter, foolish fight in the courts, ending in a humiliating defeat. The loss of renumerative employment on the part of thousands of hard working men; a general demoralization and confusion; a ceaseless agitation and strife; and finally, an uncertain and unsatisfactory situation with all business interests. Such a condition of affairs is a menace to the public welfare and the sooner our state government is placed in the hands of careful, cautious, experienced business men, the better it will be for all concerned.

Let us nominate and elect good, able, fair, honest men, and then let us have quiet and peace.

